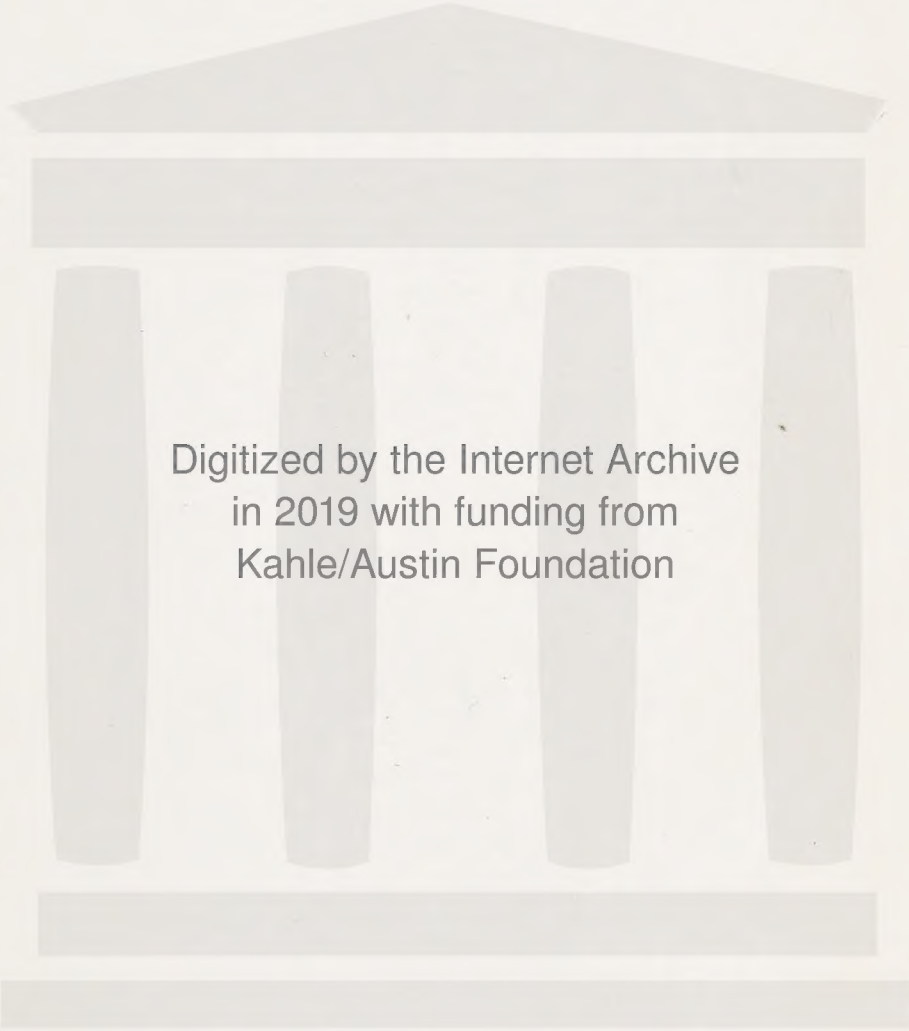




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# LA SOCIÉTÉ d'HISTOIRE DU CANADA

Rapport de l'assemblée annuelle  
tenue à Montréal les 6,7 et 8 juin 1951

Contenant les communications  
d'ordre historique

La Rédaction: R.A. PRESTON, G.F.G. STANLEY,  
et LÉOPOLD LAMONTAGNE



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*Printed in Canada by the Tribune Press Ltd.*

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The editors are grateful to the authors of the above papers for their co-operation in shortening them from their original length so that they could be published in the amount of space available.

One paper presented at the Association's annual meeting "Elementary Education in Upper Canada, 1820-1840", by G. W. Spragge, is not printed here but appeared in *Ontario History*, in June 1951.

Two papers which were presented at joint sessions of the CHA and CPSA also are published elsewhere. "Municipal Finance in Relationship to Dominion Provincial Relations" by C. A. Curtis, appears in the *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, August 1951, and "Mr. Mackenzie King and the Constitution" by A. E. Forsey will appear in the November issue of the *Canadian Journal of Political Science and Economics*.

Articles in the Canadian Historical Association Report are indexed in the *Canadian Index*.

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## WIDER HORIZONS

GEORGE E. WILSON

*Dalhousie University*

*President of the Canadian Historical Association*

A YEAR AGO in Kingston my predecessor gave his presidential address under the title of "Broad Horizons". The idea was an admirable one. He wished to warn us against the narrowness and distortion that can come from a too nationalistic approach to our history. To confine our attention to events that took place in Canada can give us an entirely false and inadequate understanding of what those events mean. Much of Canadian history took place outside of the country. For much of it we have to look to France or Great Britain or the United States. Even this is not enough. Where Professor Burt thought that we really failed was in the field of imperial history. This to a large extent has been ignored. As long as this was the case, Canadian history would suffer both in perspective and in depth of meaning. The rest of his address was largely a demonstration of the gains that awaited those who studied Canadian history in its setting as a part of the history of the British Empire during the last two centuries. The broader the historian's outlook, the greater and more valuable the harvest he reaped!

I hope that I shall not be accused of plagiarism if I come before you and say that the remarks that I am going to make are to be disguised (if they need a disguise) under the title of Wider Horizons. I think that I am justified in taking that title, although from some points of view the title may be misleading.

It may be misleading in this sense. My aim is not to elaborate on, or to extend the application of my predecessor's thesis. It is not even my intention to confine my remarks within the field of history. Rather it is my intention to consider the field of history itself. What part does history, or what part should history play in a liberal education? What part does history, or what part should history, play in making a full and complete man?

I must elaborate, and in elaborating I shall betray my own point of view. That will be apparent in everything that I say. For that I make no apologies. I am convinced that there is a very close relationship between truth and personal conviction. The closer a man comes to saying what he himself believes, the closer he comes to revealing such truth as there may be in him. He knows no other truth. For over thirty years I have been teaching history. What have I tried to do? Was I simply teaching historical facts or was I using historical facts to achieve ends, not so obvious but no less definite?

Before trying to answer the question what part history plays in a liberal education, it is necessary to make clear what I think is meant by a liberal education. That is really the crux of the whole matter. Probably I shall be giving utterance to a personal opinion and a very personal opinion at that. However there is so much that passes for education which is nothing of the sort, such a hodge-podge of planless

and miscellaneous subjects that are thrown together without any apparent aim or purpose; so much that masquerades under the guise of education that is nothing but vocational training, so much that is nothing but the acquiring of a trained technique that is covered by the same blessed word, that we do well to pause occasionally and ask ourselves what is the essence, the core, the distinguishing mark of a liberal education.

It is a difficult question to answer and none of us will give quite the same answer. I am quite conscious that a man can get an education without going to college. I have no particular quarrel with those who say that the aim of education is to make a man think, think correctly, and think for himself. I am quite ready to admit that there is much learned even by those who are pursuing technical and vocational courses. I am also quite conscious that the materials and methods, the subjects studied, and the relative weight put on those studies change from age to age and from country to country.

Nevertheless I still believe that there ought to be an ultimate goal; a final vision if you like, that comes as a result of a liberal education. Just as Dante, after all his wandering in Hell and Purgatory and Paradise, had a final glimpse of the Eternal on his throne, so ought we to have some final illumination in our darkness. The light may do no more than reveal the darkness, but it is light and not darkness. A transformation has taken place and we know, at least those who have experienced it know, that it has taken place.

The very essence of education is understanding. It is not training. That is an entirely different matter. The highest understanding would be for a man to know himself, and to know the universe in which he lived. That is an impossible achievement in this world. I admit that. What I do contend however is that a man must be perfectly aware of the ideal end of education, and never cease in his striving to approach it. Goethe was a great example of the idea I am trying to express. He would enter into life, play his part in it, survey with steady gaze all man's achievements, past and present, and ever strive to build up within himself a God-like understanding of the whole. It is not strange that in his later life his contemporaries talk of him as an Olympian figure. It was an Olympian ideal that he ever held up before him.

It was the ideal of all real education—to know and to understand, to be master of life and to seek ever to understand its meaning, to strive for light, and more light. Education means knowledge, and a thirst for knowledge that no amount of knowledge can ever satisfy, but it also means an endless attempt to bring some kind of order into a man's thinking, a final synthesis of a man's life, a crystallization of all that a man knows and thinks and has experienced around some interpretation of human existence. There is no escape. We are but specks of intelligence between two eternities. What do we see in the little span that is ours? I am not saying that a man must find the answer, I am not even saying that he must find an answer. I am certainly far from saying that we must all find the same answer. I am only saying that every man, certainly every educated man must face up to the greatest problems of human existence — call them religious or philosophical as you will. What is life and what is its meaning?



He cannot shift or quibble or evade. He may feel with Dante that in His will is our peace, or he may, with Bertrand Russell, feel how brief and powerless is man's life and how pitiless and dark is the slow sure doom that awaits him. He may think that existence has meaning and purpose, or he may think that man's life and all his aspirations are but such things as dreams are made of and that all our lives are rounded with a sleep.

Perhaps it is absurd — perhaps even in bad taste to raise such questions here and now. This is 1951 and not 1251. Seven hundred years ago men knew what were the answers to all these questions. That to us is the great charm of the thirteenth century. There was a unity, a harmony to western civilization that vanished long ago. Now we live in a moral anarchy. What one calls good another calls evil, one half ridicules what the other half venerates. The world has become a bedlam of conflicting claims and counter-claims. The depths are broken up and whirl is indeed king.

However, because the winds blow from every quarter and darkness is all around, is no reason that we should despair. We are compelled to become our own pilots and to navigate with some idea of the port for which we sail. Nearly eighteen centuries ago a Roman Emperor lived in times in some ways not unlike our own. He was not certain whether the universe was order or chaos. He could only strive to order his own life as a wise man should.

One subject tries to grapple with the problem I raise. Philosophy has always tried to live up to its name and to bring home to men's minds the necessity of a philosophical grasp of all experience and knowledge. Once the crown of all education, philosophy has sadly fallen from its high estate. Only too often it is willing to accept the rôle of only another subject in the college curriculum, instead of being the medium that gives meaning to the whole. Only too often it has given up the attempt to be the great awakener of men's minds and the great unifier of men's thoughts. In our university world the voice of philosophy is so meek, so etherial, so apologetic as to be scarcely heard at all.

It is my belief that it is the duty and the opportunity of history, or of those who teach history, to fill in — at least in part — the gap made vacant by the eclipse of philosophy. History is the memory of mankind. It must be as comprehensive, as exact, as scientific (if you wish to use that term) as it is possible to be in recording the events of the past. It must never falter in trying to record events exactly as they happened. Truth must ever be its aim.

At the same time, this is not, in my opinion, the greatest rôle that history is called on to play. A dry, meticulous, accurate, non-committal account of the past has become the ideal of a great many historians who have all too easily tried to ape the scientific methods of their scientific brethren in a scientific age. History may be more than a science, it may be less than a science, but it is not a science. No matter how carefully the historian may examine the fragmentary evidence that chance has saved from the wreckage of time, the final story is only a series of judgments about the past.

History is indeed the memory of mankind, but like any true memory it is more than just a record of times gone. It is mankind's



teacher and conscience and judge. A person who studies history ought to get a sense of the great sweep of human life and endeavour, a sense of what man has tried to do and failed to do, a sense of tragedy, of splendour and of wonder. The person who studies history ought to be like a man sitting on a mountain and seeing far below him the long pilgrimage of the human race. He sees man emerge from the mist, he sees glimpses of his early history, he follows him in his long struggle through the ages, down to the present day. Everything interests him, everything has to be fitted into the picture. History may not give a man a philosophy, it may not make him a philosopher, but if it does not make him ask very profound philosophical questions, it is strange indeed.

It ought not to fail, and that is why I contend that history can at the present day do more than any other subject to lead a man to the very core of a liberal education. It spreads before him the great panorama of human life, and forces him to grapple with the great questions of meaning and purpose and value. We expect that an old man will be wiser than a young man. He has the benefit of fifty years more experience. We ought, in the same way, to expect the student of history to be wiser than he who is ignorant of the subject. History is but the extension of human experience.

It is more. It is a never-ending reminder of the mystery of time and the brevity of human life. It takes man back along a long road, but a road that seems short when he thinks of the ages that went before the first written records of Egyptian or of Babylonian. Six thousand years seem little indeed when considered alongside the ages being revealed by the work of archaeologists and anthropologists. How did the human race fare then? This too is within the survey of history. Even the aeons of time with which the geologist and the astronomer deal are part of the picture and they frame the picture.

The historian can never long forget such an illustration as Sir James Jeans gives in his little book *The Universe Around Us*. Take, he says, a postage stamp and stick it on to a penny. Then put the penny and the postage stamp on top of Cleopatra's Needle. The height of the whole structure may be taken to represent the time that has elapsed since the earth was born. The thickness of the stamp represents the time that man has been civilized, while the thickness of the penny represents the time that man has been on the earth before he was civilized. This relative sense of time ought to be in the background of all historical thought.

Two further points I want to make. The first is the necessity of never forgetting the unity of history. History is all history. The whole is not only greater than the part, but the whole is greater than all the parts added together separately. History is a seamless web. We tear it at our risk. Only necessity can excuse us, but every time we separate a part from the whole, we run the risk of distortion. We have thrown away much of man's experience. It is for that reason, that whether a man is writing history or studying history or teaching history, that he ought always to be like a fresco painter. He must first sketch out a broad outline, he must have his masses and his figures correctly placed. The whole picture must be ever before him even if he is concentrating on a single part.

The second point is that he must not restrict the scope of history. It is the story of all man's past endeavours. It is not just the story of his wars, or of his political arrangements or of his social achievements or of his economic schemes, his religious beliefs or his artistic life. It is all of these but it is essentially and above all an attempt to understand the thought and outlook of man in past time. History means little to us if we cannot enter into intellectual communion with the men about whom we are reading. They do not live for us if we cannot think with them, feel with them, see the world through their eyes, understand their hopes and fears. It is only when we have such sympathy and understanding that we extend our own experience by vicariously entering into the experience of others. So comes wisdom.

Up to this point I have been trying to do only one thing. I have been trying to explain what I think is the greatest rôle that history can play in making a truly educated man. It is, if you wish, to make him a philosopher. It is to present history as all past human experience. It is an experience that forces him to think what is its meaning and purpose. Has it any meaning or purpose? If it has, what is the conclusion that he draws from it? If it has not, or if he can find none, then what does he make of his own life in this apparently meaningless record.

However, history has other rôles to play and some that you will think much more certain than the one that I have been trying to express. It has one rôle that is very simple, much more obvious, and to many, much more interesting than forcing a man to think about his place in the scheme of things. It is such a simple rôle that it seems hardly worthy of being mentioned after the first. However I have heard professors who were prepared to defend the place of their subject in the college curriculum for this reason and none other.

It is the value of history as a story, as a great drama, as a great epic, more wonderful than any novel or play or poem. It is the poetic appeal of history. The more we know, the more we want to know. Its interest and its elusiveness and its wonder only increases with the years. If Aristotle thought that after seeing a tragedy a man rose up, purified and ennobled, surely the greatest tragedy of all is worthy of the greatest study and attention. All other stories wither and sink into insignificance compared with it.

Most wonderful of all it is true. There is the greatest need for imagination in history but it is not an imagination that invents but an imagination that tries to build up from every known fact a picture of what we think actually happened. For fiction there is no place. As soon as the historian detects the false he loses interest. His whole concern is to recover the truth. There may be gaps in the story, the colours may be thin and faded, but if they are authentic, the historian is satisfied. Truth has value, falsehood has none.

In his desire to recover and preserve the past there is much more than interest or curiosity. It is an act of piety to the dead and it is an extension of our own lives. It is a pushing back of the darkness that surrounds us all. We keep the past alive and so drive farther away the realm of night. We are not so conscious of our own loneliness.



We live only in the present, second by second. The future is unknown; the past lives only in men's minds, growing dimmer and dimmer. It fades, and as it fades it dies. It disappears into the limbo of forgotten things. It was, but is not. We are, but soon we shall not be. We too shall go to join the shadows.

History is a web that is forever being woven. A ray of light—the present—falls where the shuttle shoots back and forth across the loom. Quickly the present passes on to join the endless number of presents that have slipped into the past. All were once in the noonday light, now all have passed into the shade.

No man has expressed this sense of the poetry and the pensive sadness of history better than Carlyle. Over and over he expresses the same thought.

"History after all" (he writes) "is the true poetry; Reality, if rightly interpreted, is grander than Fiction; nay even, in the right interpretation of Reality and History, does genuine Poetry lie.

Thus for *Boswell's Life of Johnson* has Time done, is Time doing still, what no ornament of Art or Artifice could have done for it. Rough Samuel and sleek wheedling James were, and are not. Their Life and whole personal Environment has melted into air. The Mitre Tavern still stands in Fleet Street; but where now is its scot-and-lot paying, beef-and-ale loving, cocked-hatted, pot-bellied Landlord; its rosy-faced assiduous Landlady, with all her shining brass-pans, waxed tables, well-filled larder-shelves; her cooks and bootjacks, and errand boys and watery-mouthed hangers-on? Gone! Gone! The becking Waiter, who, with wreathed smiles, was wont to spread for Samuel and Bozzy their supper of the gods, has long since pocketed his last sixpence; and vanished, sixpences and all, like a ghost at cock-crowing. The Bottles they drank out of are all broken, the Chairs they sat on all rotted and burnt; the very Knives and Forks they ate with have rusted to the heart, and become brown oxide of iron, and mingled with the indiscriminate clay. All, all has vanished; in very deed and truth, like that baseless fabric of Prospero's air-vision. Of the Mitre Tavern nothing but the bare walls remain there; of London, of England, of the World, nothing but the bare walls remain; and these also decaying (were they of adamant) only slower. The mysterious River of Existence rushes on; a new Billow thereof has arrived, and lashes wildly as ever round the old embankments; but the former Billow with its loud, mad eddyings, where is it? — Where?

Now this *Book* of Boswell's, this is precisely a revocation of the edict of Destiny; so that Time shall not utterly, not so soon by several centuries, have dominion over us. A little row of Naphtha-lamps, with its line of Naphtha-light, burns clear and holy through the dead Night of the Past: they who are gone are still here; though hidden they are revealed, though dead they speak. There it shines, that little miraculously lamplit Pathway; shedding its feebler and feebler twilight into the boundless dark Oblivion, for all that our Johnson *touched* has become illuminated for us: on which miraculous little Pathway we can still travel and see wonders."

This is history as art and poetry. This is history holding back the billows of time ever ready to wash away every evidence that we ever came this way.



If the pleasures of the imagination are amongst the greatest pleasures of life it would be hard to surpass the pleasure that history can give. Travel means little without it, but with it what magic windows are opened? Who can sit on the steps of the Parthenon and watch the sun sinking behind the hills towards Thebes without being carried away by a sense of all the days that have passed since Pericles walked the streets of Athens? To sit amongst the ruins of Olympia and listen to the wind sighing through the pine trees; to watch the lizards darting amidst fallen columns in the Roman Forum; to listen to the chanting of the mass amidst the forest of pillars in the great mosque at Cordova; to sit and dream amidst the glories of Chartres! This is poetry made visible. This is a magic world of charm and wonder and beauty that only the lovers of history can enter. It is an education of heart and mind and imagination that only the past can give.

I have tried to express two of the things that history can do for us. It can awaken within us — so far as we are capable of being awakened — the philosopher and the poet. It can make us conscious of the brevity and the mystery of man's life and it can clothe that brevity and that mystery with beauty and wonder.

I now come to what I might call the utility values of history. I hesitate to use this term because I do not wish to imply that there is no utility in making a man wiser or in awakening the artist and poet that is in him.

However I do think that there are certain very practical uses that can be advanced for the study of history—reasons that in themselves make history an indispensable part of a liberal education. History is the background — and a very necessary background — for practically every other field of study. It can bring order and form where otherwise there would be disorder and confusion. No matter whether the study is archaeology or architecture, language or religion, chemistry or mathematics, it has a history and it can be merged into the general history of the world.

Take what might be considered one of the least historical of subjects — mathematics. One could argue that the subject has no history. It is like Plato's ideas, changeless and eternal, ever perfect and only waiting to be discovered and understood. All that has ever happened is that the human mind has gradually and slowly discovered the truths of mathematics. Egyptian and Arab, Greek and Roman have all made their contribution to the sum of knowledge that we have today. Still unless a mathematician were satisfied to be a calculating machine, enjoying the knowledge and the skill that countless mathematicians have built up for him, he must become an historian. Only then can he fully appreciate his subject. Euclid and Archimedes, Descartes and Gauss are but shining lights in a long story. They are high priests in an historical revelation.

Every field of knowledge has its history. It is the most universal way that man has of approaching any subject. Almost as if by instinct our first wish is to discover the process by which a thing became what it is now. There may be much illusion in this. It may belong to the same class of intellectual soporific as by knowing the names of things we think we know when we do not. History as well as words may be used to conceal our ignorance from us.

However that may be, history serves the very useful purpose of enabling a man to bind his knowledge into a neat chronological strand. No matter how many strands there are and no matter how the strands increase in length and strength they can lie together in perfect order. The closer they are brought together, and the more one can be made to depend upon another, the greater the order and the continuity in the scholar's mind.

There are some subjects however where historical knowledge is indispensable. It is not a question of convenience but of necessity. Without history the whole field would be a closed book. There would not be the slightest hope of bringing meaning or understanding into the apparent confusion. Pure reason would be a hopeless guide.

The most obvious place where this is so, is when we try to understand the whole social structure in which we live. Everything around us has been woven in the loom of time. The language that we speak, the religion that we profess, the customs that we follow, the economic machine that feeds us, the forms of government that we obey, the international situation that so disturbs us — none of these can be understood without a knowledge of history. To quote St. Augustine with a variation, "history hath reasons that reason doth not know".

Take the most obvious and the most conspicuous subject of those that I have just mentioned. How can one hope to understand the present confusion in which the world finds itself in the field of international relations? When we speak of United Nations or Atlantic Pact or War or Peace, we are compelled to become historians. We can only understand by understanding the past. The whole recent history of the world has to be brought into the survey. We perhaps start with World War II and try to explain the events that have happened since its close. We soon discover that this gives a ridiculously incomplete and foreshortened account. We raise more difficulties than we solve. New questions arise at every turn. Instead of explaining anything we only reveal how complicated and far-reaching are the problems that we set out to solve. We find ourselves reviewing the twenty years of uneasy peace that intervened between two world wars, discussing the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the uncertainties of the 'twenties, the great depression, the rise of dictators, the civil war in Spain, the Japanese in Manchuria and all the tensions that brought about the final explosion in 1939. Even then we feel that we are only explaining the last act in a play. We are forced to go farther and farther back. We have to understand the causes that led to the first World War. We find ourselves talking about Bismarck, the League of the Three Emperors, the Triple Alliance, the Franco-Russian Alliance, the end of England's isolation, problems of Egypt and Morocco, of the Near East and the Far East.

By going back to 1870 we can give a fairly comprehensive and logical picture of how the present international situation has evolved, but even then we find ourselves continually harking back to events long before the battle of Sedan. Over and over again we have occasion to speak of Napoleon and the French Revolution, of Louis XIV, and the Thirty Years War. If we are not careful, we find ourselves talking about Charlemagne and his grandsons, of the Treaty of Verdun, and of events that happened over a thousand years ago.



It is always the same story. We cannot understand the present without understanding what went before it. More illustrations are unnecessary but if we needed them we have only to think of the field of religion. Two thousand years are not enough if we wish to understand the history of Christianity. Greek philosophers and Hebrew prophets carry us still further into the past.

I need say no more about the utility of history. Indispensability would be a better word. It is the great Open Sesame to what men have thought and planned and done. History is not just a necessary part of an education. Without it we would be lost.

The last reason that I am going to advance for the study of history as a part of a liberal education is that it ought to make a man humble. This is surely one of the great attributes of wisdom. I cannot deny that there have been arrogant and dogmatic historians but I do deny that arrogance and dogmatism are signs of wisdom, and I do contend that a study of history ought not to contribute to the development of these vices. Very much to the contrary, a study of history ought to take a man far from the region of omniscience. At every turn he ought to have it brought home to him, how uncertain is our knowledge, how fallible are our judgments, how changeable are our points of view. Except in things of minor importance finality is scarcely ever possible.

One of the most striking facts of history, and one that ought to check all pride and arrogance in the historian, is how few histories stand the test of time. Saluted in their own day as monuments of scholarship and "the last word on the subject", they drop out of sight with the years. Dust accumulates on the one-time classic, and when we open volumes that were great and famous in their day, they seem to us to have lost all interest and vitality. They are dated, and apart from the light that they throw on the age in which they were written they have passed out of the scheme of things. They seem to be interested in questions that no longer concern us, and, correct as their facts may be, the whole picture seems strangely out of focus. We need historical imagination to enter into the mind of the writer. No wonder that we drop the book with a slight touch of boredom. We feel that it is quite difficult enough to see around one corner without trying to see around two.

A history's continued existence may, in a few cases, be saved because it is itself an original source. All other sources of information have disappeared. Apart from this fortunate circumstance, the thing that best preserves an historian's work is art — literary skill. It is as a work of art that it keeps its place on our shelves. Without the stately flow of his prose, where would even Edward Gibbon be? Would Bury have spent so much time in re-editing him?

It is not just the inadequacy of our knowledge about the past. With that even the simplest man is acquainted. We know that accident and time and chance have all conspired to leave but the scantiest of records about the most important events. The muse of history has never shown the slightest concern for the historian. We see the past in the most uncertain of lights. Sometimes the landscape seems bathed in sunshine but more often it is hid in darkness and shadow, and the light flickers fitfully over the scene.



This has always been recognized as one of the difficulties of the historian. Thucydides was probably as conscious of it as Mr. Gooch or Mr. Trevelyan. The historian has always had to investigate and compare, to sift and to judge, to do his best to construct a plausible account out of imperfect details. There is nothing new in this.

What is new is the growing suspicion that perhaps we never actually see the past. What we see is not the past in its truth and in its entirety and in its complexity, but only a certain version of the past that at the present moment commends itself to us. Each age asks the past different questions and that is why each age wants to write its own histories. The questions asked and the answers given may have satisfied our ancestors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They do not satisfy us in the twentieth. Our chief interest is not to discover how men lived and thought in a previous age but how previous ages produced men who live and think as we do now. That is putting the problem a bit crudely. It is more subtle than that. We go to the past looking for light but in a very real sense the past is in darkness. We have to take our light with us. Our own shadows play strange tricks with us in the realm of the dead. We see things that the dead never saw and we pay scant heed to things that they thought of utmost importance.

There is justification in this. We are wise after the event. We know what movements were successful and were therefore significant; the movements that were still-born or that failed to develop, scarcely interest us at all. All this is introducing a certain bias into the story. It seems to give history significance and value but it is a significance and value in relation to the present rather than to the past. Times change and historians change with them.

If an historian is to do more than write a chronicle he is compelled to pick and choose. In telling his story he has to select and arrange and emphasize. No two men are likely to do it in quite the same way. With the best intentions in the world the historian is bound to take some bias with him. Do we think for one moment that it makes no difference whether the historian is a liberal or a conservative or a socialist or a communist — whether he is a Christian or a sceptic? Whether it is Michelet or Mommsen, Gibbon or Macaulay, their own present-world influences their picture of the past. None can escape it.

Examples there are without number. Can anything be more enlightening than the way French historians during the last century and a half have handled the events of the Great Revolution? The political winds of the present were forever changing the picture of the past. Restoration and Orleans Monarchy, Second Empire and Third Republic, all had their own ways of interpreting the actions of the men who ended the Old Regime.

With the rise of dictators in our own day we have seen new interest and new interpretations being put on the career of Napoleon III. Instead of seeing him as a belated arrival from an older time, we have come to look on him as a forerunner of an age that was yet to be. The light in which we view the career of Bismarck changes and changes again. The facts remain the same but the picture is different in 1900 and in 1951. Two world wars and the crash of empires alter the portrait of the Iron Chancellor.

We do not need new facts in order to get a new picture. Old facts can be seen in an entirely new light. What often takes place in history we can see illustrated on the stage. Nothing need be changed. All remains exactly as it was before. Not a chair or a table need be moved. All that needs to be done is to manipulate the lights. In a white light the scene appears quite different from what it does under a cold green or a warm pink.

From the same facts, different conclusions can be drawn. History, as Jarno says in *Wilhelm Meister*, is a sorry jade who will provide arguments for any cause. Lord Bryce tells a story that illustrates the point. In the Eastern crisis of the late seventies he met two of the most distinguished historians of the day. Each of them began by complaining that the lessons of history were so plain that there was not the slightest excuse for disregarding them. Unfortunately it turned out that one of them was a whole hearted supporter of Disraeli's policy, while the other was equally certain that Mr. Gladstone's policy was wise and right.

Probably I have said enough, possibly I have said too much, about the uncertainty of history. Some of you may think that I am discrediting the subject that it ought to be my object to honour. Such is not my intention. My purpose is entirely different. Divinity is not lessened because the worshippers see but through a glass darkly. The historian is not a humbler and a wiser man because he sees only in part and understands only in part. He is a humbler and a wiser man when he realizes that this is the only way that he can see or can understand. He watches the vast tide of human existence as it flows by, but in his ignorance and in his uncertainty he recognizes wisdom and knowledge. His subject is greater than himself but yet it is part of himself. He sees meaning but he does not see the whole meaning; he sees light but it is light surrounded by darkness. He is conscious of how much eludes him, but he is also conscious of how great is the vision that he is forever contemplating.

Here I close. For me there is no greater subject than history. How a man can study it and not be forced to become a philosopher, I cannot tell. Questions the most profound and the most searching are forever being asked. History is poetry and art. It deals with the greatest story known to man — the whole story of his existence from the beginning of time down to the present. History is knowledge. Only by history and through history can we know the world in which we live. It does all this and yet leaves a man profoundly conscious of his own littleness, of his own ignorance, of the play of forces that he cannot grasp, a sense of mystery and of tragedy that touches his heart but does not satisfy his understanding.

# MR. MACKENZIE KING AND CANADIAN AUTONOMY, 1921-1946

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THIS PAPER is concerned with some impressions of Mr. Mackenzie King's conduct of the external relations of Canada over the twenty-five year period during most of which he held the office of Secretary of State for External Affairs. It is basically not concerned with his leadership in domestic politics, though it is obvious that these were frequently interwoven into the emerging strands of foreign policy. It makes no attempt at formal judgments, but rather at informal impressions.

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When Mr. Mackenzie King was sworn into office as Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs on December 29, 1921, he had lately undergone the salutary discipline of two years as Leader of the Opposition. He had served three years in the House of Commons at an earlier stage, as a Minister of the Crown, and had had a lengthy acquaintance with the Public Service. He had seen some flickerings of Canadian autonomy abroad because of his own connection with negotiations between Canada and the Governments of Japan, China and India, and he was already known to some of the public servants and political leaders of the United Kingdom with whom he was to be thrown into close contact twenty or more years later.

Among the matters once envisaged by Lord Durham as those on which the "Mother Country" still required a control, the control of foreign relations was now, 80 years later, the area which most required clarification of procedure. In the light of wartime developments, external relations also required consistent development in the mechanics of consultation and action. Mr. Lloyd George had stated in 1917 that the heads of the overseas governments of the Empire were severally to execute the decisions arrived at by the Imperial Conference. In 1921 he asserted, ambiguously, that although the sole control of *British* foreign policy was now vested in the Empire as a whole, the one instrument of the foreign policy of the Empire was, and must remain, the British Foreign office.<sup>1</sup> In Mr. Mackenzie King's view such an assertion could not really be supported if only because of the

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<sup>1</sup>May 17, 1917. War Cabinet, Report for 1917. *Parliamentary Papers*, Cd 9005; cited in W. P. M. Kennedy, *The Constitution of Canada* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 365-366; Great Britain, House of Commons Debates, December 14, 1921; quoted in H. G. Skilling, *Canadian Representation Abroad* (Toronto, 1945), p. xiv.



reliance placed by Canada in the assurance of 1917, and by the fact of Canada's influence in bringing about, very lately, the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. As Mr. King had not personally been concerned in either of these developments, he could approach the new situation with some disinterestedness.

The immediate sequel was startling enough. At the time of the Chanak incidents, *before* any official communication had reached the East Block, Mr. King read in an Ottawa newspaper that the Government of Canada was being asked if it would send forces to aid Britain in the Near East. The replies returned by Australia, New Zealand and South Africa to the United Kingdom overtures apparently convinced Mr. King that a *single* concerted policy, even if thought to be desirable, was impossible. The positive lack of effective machinery of consultation likewise made it plain that some straightening-out of channels of communication was imperative. Nearly twenty-five years later, at the end of his term of office as Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. King was still insisting that it was morally wrong to take for granted the concurrence of Canada in matters upon which she had not been consulted.

This conviction was first re-inforced by the proceedings of the Imperial Conference of 1923, which may be regarded as a real turning point in the relations between Parliament Hill and Downing Street. The *Report* of the Conference in part gave verbal sanction to what was already accepted practice; and in part it clarified the procedure for the negotiating of treaties. But the real importance, in Mr. King's view, was that despite the saving reference to "the diplomatic unity of the Empire", the single-foreign-policy idea was tacitly set aside.<sup>2</sup> The Canadian aim, the uninhibited self-government of Canada by Canadians, implied equal consultation within a developing "commonwealth of nations", and the necessary setting up by Canada of her own instruments, and her own officers, for the conduct of her own external policy.

After 1923 one large area of common interest still required formal and accepted definition. The special Imperial Conference which it had been agreed in 1917 should be summoned as soon as possible after the end of the war for the readjustment of constitutional arrangements within the Empire had never taken place. Mr. King was not unmindful of Sir Robert Borden's view, incorporated into the conclusion of the 1917 Conference, that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the dominions as "autonomous nations of an imperial commonwealth", and should recognize also their right to an adequate voice in foreign policy and foreign relations. It now became an inescapable corollary that readjustment must provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of imperial concern; and it would be for the several governments to determine what measure of concerted action, based on consultation, might follow.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The phrase "diplomatic unity of the Empire" disappeared from Canadian official correspondence after 1942.

<sup>3</sup>*Parliamentary Papers* (1917), Cd. 8566; Kennedy, *The Constitution of Canada*, p. 367.

The fortuitous intrusion of major constitutional developments in Canada convinced Mr. King that a full-dress conference on this matter of constitutional readjustment was now essential. In later allusions to the Imperial Conference of 1926, Mr. King appears to have regarded the organic changes in the manner of appointment of the Governor-General, the changes in the communicatory functions of his office, and the development of new avenues of communication through the creation of the Dominions Office in London, taken together, as of much greater intrinsic importance than the noble language enshrining the "Balfour Declaration". Against the Canadian background and maturing ideas of Canadian *self-government*, it seemed to Mr. King entirely proper that the Governor-General should henceforward be in name, as well as in fact, the personal representative of the Sovereign, and that the forms and manner of his appointment should thereafter become a matter for the King acting on the advice of His Majesty's Canadian advisers. Mr. King was never successful in some rather tentative efforts, notably in 1939, to have the *name* of the office altered, perhaps because no really euphonious alternative suggested itself. As late as 1946 he agreed that in no part of the altered constitutional arrangements dating from the 1926 Imperial Conference had the intent and the proprieties been more scrupulously complied with.

On both sides of the Atlantic, indeed, the necessary consequences of these altered relationships had been met, in large part, with a mutual respect and an exemplary common sense. It may be doubted whether the prestige and the authority of Mr. Mackenzie King were anywhere demonstrated to better advantage. Lord Hankey once told me that the United Kingdom Secretariat at the 1926 Conference had been so much impressed by Mr. King's grasp and persuasiveness in constitutional matters that "once he had tried his hand or looked over a draft, we never dared to alter it".<sup>4</sup> Mr. King was certainly well served by a group of devoted Canadian advisers on this occasion, but, equally, the impression of his personal authority and persuasiveness survived to his very last visit to London.

It was perhaps unfortunate that Mr. Mackenzie King never found it possible to visit other parts of the Commonwealth, though he had frequently been invited. During the Second World War all of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers visited Ottawa, and Mr. King met them in London on several occasions. During these war years the relationships with Great Britain in particular became inextricably intertwined at all levels from the Prime Minister downwards. The Commonwealth Air Training Plan, the provision of foodstuffs and munitions, the long vigil of Canadian forces in Britain before they were committed to action, and the extent of Canadian mutual aid from 1943 onwards all forged strong links of comradeship and co-operation. If Commonwealth relations were never exactly *foreign* relations, they nevertheless represented a special place in the expanding structure of Canadian autonomy. With all his veneration for the Parliamentary usages descended from Westminster, and for all the measure of working agreement with his United Kingdom friends and

<sup>4</sup>In a conversation with the writer (London, May 26, 1946).



colleagues, Mr. King never willingly acquiesced in any formalizing of the working relationships which had developed during his own years in office. Narrowness in outlook, rigidity in action, and any emphasis on centralization must, as he put it, drain the very life blood from the Commonwealth, and I am certain he must often have wished that "official" Britons travelling abroad had shown as much consideration for the self-respect of Canada as the courteous attention to Canadian interests which had been shown whenever he himself had been in London.

The attachment of Mr. Mackenzie King to the person and throne of His Majesty as King of Canada was to me a matter of unusual interest. Mr. King was at great pains to demonstrate wherein the King of Canada was the personal embodiment of the actuality and the genuine substance of autonomy. I recall this especially during the Royal Visit to Canada in 1939: how Mr. King personally concerned himself with the King's coming to Parliament to give the Royal Assent; with his meeting all available members of His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada; and with his personally performing various acts of state. I remember how over a period of months he worked himself very thoroughly not only into the spirit of a great occasion but into the physical properties—stage-manager fashion—by insisting that nothing should be left to chance, and that the minutest detail should be correct because "they will expect us to know how to do it the right way". Even attention to detail never dimmed the splendour of each succeeding day; and probably no part of Mr. King's official responsibility gave him quite the same sense of honour and satisfaction as those meticulous communications, frequently written in his own hand, which began, "Mr. Mackenzie King presents his humble duty . . ."

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If it was the Commonwealth relationship which first gave substance and some consistency to Canadian autonomy in external relations, the increasing dealings with foreign states—through the League of Nations and otherwise—brought a certain momentum and the necessity of dealing with foreign policy on some orderly basis. Foreign policy was not, in the early 1920's, *public* policy in the sense that it provoked very much informed debate in Parliament or discussion throughout Canada; and the initial Canadian emphasis upon *status*, particularly at Geneva, was, and is, puzzling to many Canadians. For some 17 years, Mr. Mackenzie King was content to rely on the "Parliament-will-decide-in-the-light-of-all-the-circumstances-then-existing" mentality; but it may be doubted whether this was really a policy, or whether it was an attitude of mind; whether it was a reliance on the best available alternative to something which was unattainable in practice; and whether it was really calculated to arouse and mobilize public opinion in Canada behind any constructive approach to problems of increasing complexity and anxiety.

One antidote to the preoccupation with status might have been a realistic examination of the actual responsibilities of Canada as a member of the League, particularly during the three years in which Canada was a member of the Council and, most important of all, during the autumn of 1935 when the imposing and the lifting of



sanctions against Italy aroused both controversy and irresponsible comment. Canadian policy was never quite so cynical nor quite so naive as to enter into all the benefits and to shoulder none of the responsibilities of League membership. There was, indeed, a consistent thread in the 10 years before 1928, in which it had been no part of Canadian policy to provide any automatic guarantees or to undertake commitments in advance, whether under the League covenant or other security arrangements. One statement of 1928 was relied on for many years; and as a deliberate expression of policy it deserved more serious attention than it seems to have received. In the Canadian reply to the invitation of the Government of the United States to become a signatory of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, Mr. Mackenzie King said:

"It is plain that the full realization of the idea of joint economic or military pressure upon an outlaw power, upon which some of the founders of the League set great store, will require either an approach to the universality of the League contemplated when the Covenant was being drawn, or an adjustment of the old rules of neutrality to meet the new conditions of co-operative defence."<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Mackenzie King's own definitions of foreign policy emerged largely from the annual statements he made in the House of Commons in bringing down the estimates of the Department of External Affairs, and especially in the period between 1938 and 1945. He paid little attention to a contemporary device of neatly classifying Canadian opinion into the convenient segments of imperialists, isolationists, neutralists, and advocates of collective security. He probably would have admitted, for all his reliance upon the "Parliament will decide" suggestion, that the administration rarely received any new sense of direction, let alone strong encouragement, from debates in Parliament on external relations, which in some years were perfunctory to a degree. It is nevertheless curious that in the period immediately before the outbreak of the Second World War, Mr. King should with apparent readiness have fallen in with a seven-point definition of Canadian foreign policy drawn up by a leading Canadian student of the subject. For even this convenient definition could not provide the *certitude* without which there could be no reputable foreign policy at all.

Mr. King was at some pains, in this period, to say what Canadian policy was *not*, as well as what it aspired to be. But when he said (on May 24, 1938) that "the true Canadian task was to build up a genuine democracy at home, to promote sound social relationships, and to develop a tolerance and readiness to work together with the other members of the Commonwealth and friendly relations with other countries", followers of the subject might well have asked whether any other ranking Canadian could or would have made any more generally acceptable statement.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Note from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada, to the Secretary of State of the United States, May 30, 1928; cited in R. A. MacKay and E. B. Rogers, *Canada Looks Abroad* (Toronto, 1938), p. 331.

<sup>6</sup>*Canada, House of Commons Debates*, (1938), vol. III, pp. 3175-3191; the summary here quoted is from F. H. Soward (and others), *Canada in World Affairs: The Pre-War Years* (Toronto), 1941, p. 99.

The Second World War made upon Mr. Mackenzie King the most urgent demands of his whole career: upon his strength, his persuasiveness, his vision, his patriotism. Out of his leadership of a nation at war, four strong strands emerged which carried the notion of Canadian autonomy to its most stalwart and four-square expression. The first was the unity of Canada; the second the effective defence of Canada, and the third was the self-respect of Canada, perhaps never valued intrinsically at home until Canada was thrown into a struggle for survival with 30 other embattled nations. This concept of self-respect was to be regarded as the final accompaniment of self-government. In it there was no littleness, no vaunting of self-importance, no echo of an outmoded idea of neutrality, no reliance any longer upon the accidents of geography or the fortunate circumstance of Canada's neighborhood. In it, rather, were dignity, and compassion, and generosity unsurpassed in Canada's history; and the whole free world was the better for it.

The fourth strand was the contribution of Canada to the myriad tasks of peace-making, peace-keeping, the reconstruction of shattered national economies and, where possible, the rebuilding of confidence and competence among freedom-loving peoples whose minds and bodies had been cruelly persecuted and oppressed. Even so, in these contributions Canada never sought to outrun her strength or youthfulness. The concept of a "Middle Power", one supposes, was almost wished upon Canada. It was not that Mr. King and his colleagues disliked the rôle, or that the satisfactions of "Middle Power" co-operation did not offset the frustrations of "Great Power" heavy-handedness. But when Mr. King enunciated (on July 9, 1943) the principle known as "functional representation", he did so only after reiterating the necessity for a large preponderance of force on the side of peace. The object was to provide a working compromise between, and an acceptable alternative to, the undisguised hegemony of five major powers on the one side, and the sovereign equality of more than 50 states on the other. Behind the object was a thoroughly consistent attitude, for as far back as 1936, Mr. King had said that as one of two conditions essential to the working of any plan of universal compulsion, there must be "an overwhelming preponderance of power, economic and military, in the League, as against any possible aggressor or combination of aggressors." As Mr. King made clear, that condition had not then existed.<sup>7</sup>

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On the broad subject of Canadian autonomy and relations with the United States, Mr. Mackenzie King could not be numbered among those who regarded these relations as being so intimate and continuous that they were not to be regarded as foreign relations at all. Neither

<sup>7</sup>Speech on the announcement of the lifting of sanctions against Italy, June 18, 1936; *Canada, House of Commons Debates* (1936), pp. 3862-3873; quoted in MacKay and Rogers, *Canada Looks Abroad*, at p. 360. See also *House of Commons Debates*, August 4, 1944, p. 5908.

The second condition was the certainty that members of the League would be ready to exercise that force when the occasion arose, regardless of where it arose or whether they had any direct interest in the quarrel. Equally in 1936, said Mr. King, that condition did not exist.



were they to be taken for granted, even after 100 years of generally friendly dealings across the "undefended" border which for long had been the cynosure of all platitudes. On the development of the working relations between Washington and Ottawa, Mr. King seems to have felt that it was from Lord Bryce's day in Washington that a more intelligent appreciation of Canadian interests and Canadian needs had been apparent in official circles. He regarded the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, with its provision for an international joint commission, as a remarkable achievement in institutional co-operation. He had, by many appearances, shared in a growing distaste for the patent absurdity of having had to entrust the conduct of Canadian official business in Washington so largely to the British Embassy. It was not goodwill which was involved, but knowledgeability, and a consecutiveness of interest which had to be divorced from a "traditional" view of diplomacy which was certainly not indigenous to Canada. The only apparent reason for delay, after 1921, in acting upon the right to appoint Canadian diplomatic representatives abroad, was Mr. King's deference on this point to some of his older colleagues.

After 1935, when Mr. King came back into office, a steadily mounting preoccupation with the effective defence of the North American continent entered into discussion on each succeeding visit he made to Washington. The same preoccupation marked the official visits which President Roosevelt made to Quebec in 1936, to Victoria in 1937, and to Kingston and Ivy Lea in 1938. Based upon a friendship which went back over 30 years, these discussions on defence proceeded with increasing precision and comprehension.

The growing impression that the United States was prepared to defend its own neighborhood was powerfully reinforced by the statement of Mr. Roosevelt at Kingston on August 18, 1938, that the United States would not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil were threatened by any other Empire. Mr. King took the first opportunity, two days later, to reply that Canada also had her obligations as a good and friendly neighbour. It may be guessed that in no rôle was Mr. King's stature as a negotiator ever better demonstrated than in the sphere of collective defence in co-operation with the Governments of Britain and the United States.

During the 1939-41 period of these negotiations Britain and Canada were both belligerents against Germany while the United States was a "neutral" in a mounting world conflict. On August 16, 1940, Mr. Roosevelt announced that conversations were being held with the government of the British Empire about the acquisition of naval and air bases for the defence of the Western Hemisphere, and that the Government of Canada was concerned in the conversations. The next day Mr. Mackenzie King met the President at Ogdensburg, N. Y., talking far into the night, and on the following day a joint statement, now known as the Ogdensburg Agreement, revealed that a permanent joint board on defence was to be set up at once to consider in the broad sense the defence of the north half of the western hemisphere. The Board held its first meeting in Ottawa eight days later. On August 20, Mr. Winston Churchill announced in the House of Commons at Westminster the decision of the British Government "spontaneously and without being asked or offered any induce-



ment" to offer the United States sites for naval and air bases in the western hemisphere. On September 3, Mr. Roosevelt announced that sites for bases had been made available: those in Newfoundland and Bermuda on leasehold for no other consideration than Great Britain's interest in the strength and security of North America; those in other British possessions in the Caribbean area on leasehold in exchange for 50 "over-age" United States destroyers. Recalling these swift and stirring proceedings, recalls also a unique demonstration of Mr. Mackenzie's King's modest but thoroughgoing interest and action; "In all this line of thought (Mr. Churchill had said on August 20) we found ourselves in very close harmony with the Government of Canada" A few weeks later, in thanking Mr. Mackenzie King for all he had done in promoting "a harmony of sentiment throughout the new world", Mr. Churchill said: "This deep understanding will be a dominant factor in the rescue of Europe from a relapse into the dark ages".<sup>8</sup>

Mr. Mackenzie King's connection with the Hyde Park Declaration of April, 1941, may rightly be considered the very highest point in his long career as a negotiator. If I were to be asked to choose one incident in the fullest demonstration of Canadian autonomy in relations with the United States over the whole period from 1838, I would unhesitatingly single out these negotiations, which led to this fullest co-operation in economic defence. The achievement was the more remarkable because there was, of necessity and under the stress of war, no profound public understanding how great were the issues and the risks involved. Mr. Mackenzie King was faced with the multiple problems of conserving Canadian reserves of U. S. dollars (since Canada had never benefitted from the operations of the Lend-Lease Program, and had in fact paid cash for all war materials received directly from the United States); of avoiding wasteful and costly duplication in war production; and generally of enabling war production in Canada to proceed without interruption and in mounting volume. Now, in order to provide the most prompt and effective utilization of North American productive facilities, it was agreed that each country should provide the other with the defence articles which it was best able to produce, and produce quickly. A supplementary feature which was both realistic and commendable, was the agreement that Great Britain could obtain, under Lend-Lease, components needed in munitions and equipment under manufacture in Canada on British account, and have them forwarded to Canada for inclusion in the finished articles. As an economic corollary of the Ogdensburg Agreement, the Hyde Park Declaration was of great and continuing importance.

In these, as in all other external relations, it was essential to preserve a sense of proportion. The fuss and bother which was stirred up by occasional ill-timed statements, imputing motives, about the unreasonable detention of freight cars on the lines of either country, about the prices of potatoes, and the importation into Canada of literature and films catering to popular tastes, were certainly deplorable. The momentary attention attracted by these matters

<sup>8</sup>*Canada, House of Commons Debates*, November 12, 1940, p. 54.

never swayed Mr. Mackenzie King from the larger objectives in long-range dealings; nor did these objectives, in turn, obscure a legitimate indignation over the occasional arbitrary and even bad-tempered intervention of the United States. Mr. Mackenzie King could certainly be regarded as a staunch and intelligent friend of the United States, its government and its people; and if he was never a figure who made a strong appeal to the somewhat flamboyant imagination of the American public in the large, he was at least regarded with great respect in official circles.

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What concluding estimate may then be given of Mr. Mackenzie King and Canadian autonomy? At best it must be a personal and rather reminiscent estimate. But I always thought of Mr. King in a two-fold way: first as a man of a few essentially rugged convictions; and secondly, as a man whose active life had been subject to a few readily-identifiable and pervading influences. Among his robust convictions, I recall his belief that the really important people in this world were the *conciliators*. He once said that the conciliators would outlive all the Hitlers of whatever age. He had, too, some of the convictions of the *rebel on principle*, though not perhaps the appearances of the rebel in action, since he was rarely in a hurry. I remember his telling an interested audience in Ottawa that if he had been alive in his grandfather's time, he'd have been a rebel too.

Of the institutional influences which dwelt upon him, there is no doubt in my mind that the House of Commons was by far the most enduring. It is a commonplace to say that to the extent that Parliamentary tactics entered into public policy, he had no master and perhaps no equal, and that no one surpassed him in devotion to the usages and the massiveness of Parliament. I cannot explain in any other way the elaborate, very nearly wearying, exposition which went into his statements to the House; apparently effortless, seemingly flowing from some hidden source of vigour and concentration—statements which frequently read much better than they sounded at the time.

Of his personal characteristics, I think I would put first his exemplary patience. He was patient not in any indolent or indifferent way, but patient the better to underline the peaks of decisiveness and effectiveness which he sometimes reached when in the Parliamentary idiom he was 'plain fighting mad'.

Upon many matters of external policy he took decisions as all in the day's work; that is, except for the advice and knowledgeability of his principal advisers in the public service, they were decisions based not upon profound personal study of issues, but upon the apparent needs of the moment. I suppose it might have come as a distinct shock to him if he had been confronted with the suggestion that Canadian policy in external affairs, was, at bottom, the policy of the best available alternative. I think he might have been excused, in much of his long tenure of the office, if he regarded the duties of the External Affairs portfolio as auxiliary to and inseparable from the Prime Ministerial function. In this case it could scarcely be expected that his auxiliary portfolio could become, in his holding of it, an expansive or an imaginative office of state. I am bound to say I regretted

that the Department grew so slowly: that it was systematically raided to provide able men and women for other extra-Departmental duties; and that for so long a period it was able to display so few of the direct benefits of interested ministerial supervision.

I sometimes asked myself whether any man, or any combination of men, confronted by the same problems over so considerable a period of time, would have dealt with them so well and in a way so generally acceptable to the great majority of the people. I am not one of those who write off the real essentials of our corporate existence by saying that by and large we Canadians get the kind of government we deserve. We may have a special stake in the *kind* of government which takes place, but for the *quality* of that government we are pretty well bound to rely upon the human qualities of the main guiding hands. In Mr. Mackenzie King's case there was a curious blending of the reflective and the ruthless, of the rational and the intuitive, of the sunlit peaks of aspiration and achievement, and the valleys of the shadows of disappointment and frustration. And there was more: the loneliness, if not the anonymity, of direction; the white heat of intensity in which decision sometimes emerged; and only rarely the quietness of twilight to provide some of the compensations of ordinary livelihood.

And yet I think that his instincts, his will, his endurance, all his rock-like qualities, were for Canada and the future of Canada. No man who is at the head of the government of this country for over 20 years can afford to presume upon the public gratitude, any more than he is bound to rely upon other people's estimates of the strength of public opinion on any particular question. I feel certain that his good deeds will never be lost, for, like scattered seed, they will yield a far-off harvest.



## ORIGINES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DANS LES INSTITUTIONS MÉDIÉVALES

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BIEN QU'IL n'ait été question que des origines de l'Université de Paris, on persiste à croire que l'antonomase proposée dans le titre de ce rapport n'était pas historiquement illégitime. L'Université, en effet, apparaît à l'historien comme une création typiquement médiévale, l'œuvre propre des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles dans l'histoire universelle de la culture. D'autre part, l'université de Paris, dans ses origines et dans son évolution, permet de retrouver les fondements institutionnels et juridiques de ces écoles corporatives que les médiévaux et nous-mêmes appelons universités.

Ces problèmes d'origine, toutefois, sont ardues en ce qu'ils échappent aux vérifications positives. Aussi bien, la méthode historique impose ici de surmonter les options purement accidentelles de la recherche pour retrouver un point de section vraiment originel et décisif qui puisse capter la fécondité d'une source, là où l'événement coïncide avec l'esprit qui le cause.

La liaison historique de l'université avec l'école épiscopale de Paris et auparavant avec l'école de Laon nous reporte aux premières années du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. A ce plan et à ce moment, il apparaît qu'est définitivement accompli un transfert des institutions scolaires du moyen âge, signe d'un déplacement plus profond dans l'histoire de la civilisation. Les monastères ont abandonné leurs institutions scolaires, et les chapitres des cathédrales assument seuls désormais de continuer une tradition de culture et d'éducation qui atteindra bientôt les dimensions spirituelles et historiques d'une renaissance. Or, depuis Charlemagne, les écoles monastiques et les écoles capitulaires, nées d'un besoin commun, avaient surmonté ensemble l'effondrement général de la culture en Occident. En conséquence, en vérifiant que l'université de Paris n'a pas de rapport, ni dans ses institutions ni dans ses origines, avec les écoles monastiques, on atteint ce point de section méthodologique que nous réclamions. C'est une coupure décisive qu'on opère dans l'histoire de la culture médiévale: on a établi une rupture historique et institutionnelle entre la renaissance carolingienne et la renaissance du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Dès lors, la recherche historique qui se donne comme objet de retrouver les origines de l'Université dans les institutions médiévales doit s'appliquer à l'interprétation du fait majeur qu'on vient de dégager: le transfert des institutions scolaires des monastères aux cathédrales.

Une thèse séduisante par son modernisme nous est ici proposée, celle d'une œuvre désormais classique: G. Paré, A. Brunet, P. Tremblay, *La Renaissance du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les écoles et l'enseignement*.<sup>1</sup> Citons un passage particulièrement précis qui nous livre la pensée des auteurs et celle de leur maître, le P. Chenu.

<sup>1</sup>*Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales d'Ottawa* (aujourd'hui de l'Université de Montréal) III, Paris, Ottawa, 1933.

“Écoles des monastères, écoles des cathédrales; telle est la classification courante, et certes parfaitement fondée, des centres intellectuels du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Mais ce ne sont pas là deux régimes parallèles, contemporains d'origine, concurrents par accident sur un sol uniforme; ce sont deux institutions radicalement différentes dans leur esprit, dans leur formule, bientôt dans leur théologie.

“Les écoles monastiques, fruit mûr de la société féodale, ne font que prolonger un état traditionnel, dans une civilisation où déjà les Communes accomplissent leur révolution et ménagent autour de la cathédrale, au milieu de leur turbulence économique et sociale, de nouveaux foyers d'instruction: les écoles dites épiscopales. Les corporations universitaires — celles des clercs ou celles des ordres mendiants — ne feront, au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, qu'amplifier et institutionnaliser le succès de ces écoles, dans les centres urbains épris de liberté et de progrès, tandis que les écoles monastiques achèveront de mourir de leur conservatisme . . .

“Quoique travaillé par la renaissance économique et par les premières effervescences des habitants des villes, le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle vit encore dans son ensemble, sous le régime féodal: économie domaniale et contrat de fief. . . Mais voici que l'horizon s'élargit et que les cadres se rompent. La reprise du trafic méditerranéen, l'essor du commerce continental, le défrichement intensif des terres, l'accroissement rapide de la population, les nouvelles techniques des artisans, la spécialisation du travail, modifient rapidement l'économie des campagnes et des villes. On déserte en masse les domaines du seigneur, chevalier ou abbé, pour former des agglomérations urbaines, où une élite va conquérir, doucement ou violemment, les franchises nécessaires à son travail, à sa richesse, à sa liberté, à sa culture . . . Ainsi voit-on dans la première moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la puissance urbaine arriver à maturité . . . C'est la révolution communale, effet de la révolution économique à travers l'Europe, des cités italiennes aux villes de la Flandre ou du pays mosan.

“On peut prévoir quels déplacements géographiques des centres culturels vont suivre pareils mouvements sociaux, et il sera aisé d'observer le transfert des écoles et de leur attirail, des monastères aux centres urbains: leur prospérité suivra la prospérité de la “commune” . . . Nous sommes décidément sortis du monastère. L'époque épiscopale reflète en son organisation et en son labeur tous les traits de la commune. Elle est proprement la création du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et de la société nouvelle.”

La suite de cette communication s'est attachée à montrer que la thèse qu'on vient de rapporter, malgré un principe valable de méthode qu'il faut du reste retenir, fait appel à des considérations trop générales et trop hâtives que ni la géographie ni la chronologie ne permettent d'étendre adéquatement à l'évolution institutionnelle des écoles médiévales.

Des dépendances littéraires et des rapports idéologiques peuvent montrer à l'évidence que le P. Chenu et les auteurs de *La Renaissance du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* ont proposé leur théorie dans une référence trop systématique à l'oeuvre d'un grand maître, Henri Pirenne, le prestigieux historien des villes du moyen âge.



Dans une première position méthodologique, on a critiqué une assimilation trop cavalière de toutes les villes médiévales dans le droit des communes. La commune, à l'origine, est un fait juridique essentiellement limité parmi les libertés urbaines qui, du reste, et particulièrement au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et en France, n'est lié que très accidentellement à quelque revendication de franchise personnelle ou d'autonomie administrative. Les variations profondes de chronologie interdisent au surplus tout nivellement juridique de la commune médiévale. D'autre part, les immenses différences qui séparent géographiquement et politiquement les régions européennes les plus dissemblables maintenaient au moyen âge une hétérogénéité radicale des institutions et de l'évolution des institutions que l'historien doit lui-même maintenir dans ses synthèses.

Cette méthode trop statique qu'on vient de dénoncer prédisposait le P. Chenu et ses disciples à accepter par surcroît les théories économiques de Pirenne. Après un bref rappel de la synthèse du maître gantois, on a tenté de montrer que celle-ci, soumise à une domination trop impérialiste des facteurs économiques, n'est plus applicable aux villes françaises ni à la marche de leurs écoles épiscopales vers les institutions universitaires. On s'explique mal le curieux illogisme qui a poussé nos historiens des écoles et de l'enseignement à revendiquer pour les vieilles cités épiscopales toute l'émancipation urbaine que, par ses déterminismes les plus profonds, le système même de Pirenne se doit de leur refuser. Il faut ici résister au mirage des grandes cités flamandes ou des républiques italiennes, où les hypothèses de l'historien belge sont sans doute vérifiables en quelque extension, mais où aussi et précisément il n'y eut jamais d'universités.

On a donc dû rappeler que dans la France du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et dans cette région comprise de la Somme à la Loire, qui fut le pays de presque toutes les plus anciennes communes, on ne trouve guère d'agglomérations marchandes ou industrielles, et que dans l'ensemble la prospérité économique était de source en grande partie agricole. A cette vie économique, les monastères restent associés. De la sorte, on réduit, et considérablement, l'opposition systématique entre féodalité et bourgeoisie qu'on a voulu assigner à l'origine des déplacements institutionnels des écoles monastiques et épiscopales.

En estompant de la sorte les oppositions entre féodalité et bourgeoisie dans le tableau de la vie économique, on offre aussi moins de prise aux interprétations républicaines du droit communal, selon le romantisme d'Augustin Thierry qu'à notre avis la synthèse de Pirenne a assimilé trop copieusement. C'est la troisième influence qu'on a discernée dans la théorie du P. Chenu et qu'on s'est permis de critiquer. Contre les tendances d'une méthode qui nous paraît trop abusivement régressive en présumant que les catégories juridiques de notre temps sont toutes réductibles à l'humble matérialité des institutions médiévales, on a rappelé le droit et l'emprise de la coutume dans les moeurs du moyen âge. Cette référence au droit coutumier, qui plonge en pleine féodalité carolingienne, nous permet de retrouver, à côté des associations marchandes — les seules homologuées par certains historiens modernes — toutes les autres gildes et confréries du haut moyen âge dont les initiatives et même les rites rejoignent sans heurt les premières conjurations communales et bientôt les premières corporations univer-



sitaires. Aussi bien, quand les dialecticiens et les théologiens de Paris, émigrés des écoles épiscopales voisines ou venus de régions plus lointaines, éprouveront le besoin de solidariser leur force dans une agrégation inédite, ils trouveront sur place et dans les institutions corporatives d'une longue tradition les cadres et l'esprit de leur nouvelle association.

Ainsi, l'Université consacrera juridiquement la promotion des écoles épiscopales, urbaines par définition. Mais une histoire de l'émancipation urbaine asservie à ces déterminismes économiques trop aventureux et trop violents doit renoncer à expliquer les changements profonds où s'opère la plus décisive transformation institutionnelle qui touche l'histoire de la culture au moyen âge. Les facteurs économiques n'ont pas provoqué de métamorphoses brutales des mœurs ou des institutions. L'université de Paris n'entre pas dans l'histoire sous la pression d'une révolte urbaine contre une féodalité décadente.

Du reste, l'histoire des villes françaises, même détachée des synthèses ambitieuses de Pirenne et réduite à des dimensions moins pittoresques, n'explique qu'en partie et que de l'extérieur l'avènement de l'université dans les institutions médiévales et n'explique pas du tout, à notre avis, la rupture historique que nous avons constatée entre les écoles monastiques et les écoles du clergé séculier.

On a donc proposé que l'évolution d'institutions, que le for civil lui-même remet spontanément à la juridiction de l'Eglise, doit chercher sa première explication dans le droit ecclésiastique et dans les catégories de l'histoire religieuse. Dans ce contexte, on discerne nettement une politique antiscolaire des réformes monastiques, mais commandée par un ordre de causes spirituelles et soustraite aux contingences économiques. Le monachisme grec, en effet, aura connu les mêmes évolutions et le même abandon de ses institutions scolaires, et pour les mêmes raisons d'ascèse et de spiritualité. Bien plus, la chronologie même interdirait de dramatiser les changements institutionnels des écoles de monastères aux écoles de cathédrales. Au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, ces régimes scolaires ont cessé d'être contemporains: ils ne sont plus parallèles, encore moins concurrents. Amorcées immédiatement par l'ample réforme grégorienne, la différenciation et même l'opposition institutionnelle des écoles monastiques et des écoles cléricales se durcissent par le droit d'exemption qui soustrait progressivement les abbayes aux juridictions épiscopales. Il n'est pas accidentel que le pape Alexandre III, ancien élève d'Abélard, qui a le plus travaillé pour les libertés monastiques, est celui-là même qui amplifiera les prescriptions de Grégoire VII en matière d'enseignement et étendra l'institution gratuite de la *licentia docendi* pour les clercs. Sa politique persévérante conduira à la législation universelle du Concile de Latran en 1179. Dans la même tendance historique et juridique, nous verrons au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle les corporations universitaires se réclamer d'un droit d'appel au pape et des sanctions romaines pour résister plus efficacement au droit de prescription des chancelleries épiscopales.

# THE NATURE OF QUEBEC SOCIETY DURING THE FRENCH REGIME

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SOCIAL HISTORY has always been one of the weak points of early Canadian history. Indeed, it would seem that few countries have had the study of their past so thoroughly monopolized by those interested in politics and military strategy as Canada under the French regime; and few cities have had their social backgrounds so distorted by romantic novelists and sensation-loving travellers as the city of Quebec. If one is to arrive at a fair estimate of Quebec's social conditions, three essential problems must be considered. In the first place, what were the chief characteristics of Quebec society as they became crystallized in the first half of the 18th century, and how much truth lies in the legend of a "Petit Versailles"? Secondly, to what extent were these social characteristics the product of the economic, political, military and religious functions of the town? And finally, how far dare the historian go in taking Quebec society as representative of that in New France?

Founded as a fortress both of God and the King of France, built at the head of ocean navigation in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and at the entrance of the great St. Lawrence-Ottawa river system, the town of Quebec had, by the early eighteenth century, assumed a unique appearance. Travellers of the period described with amazement the narrow, crowded, dirty streets which characterized the Lower Town, especially when contrasted with the broad streets flanked by the handsome grey stone edifices of church and state which were spread out upon the top of the cliff, and the impressive, if unfinished ramparts which crowned the Quebec rock.<sup>1</sup> They spoke, too, of the constant changes which took place in the physical appearance of the town, thanks to fires and wars and the demands of an expanding economy. The very position of the city as capital of church and state, chief port, and judicial, market and financial centre, meant that a medley of officers and officials, traders and farmers, craftsmen and servants, teachers and missionaries, thronged its streets and contributed to its social pattern. Moreover, the newness of the country and the many opportunities for quick fortunes, both legal and illegal, afforded by trade and politics, accentuated the sharp contrast between the rich and poor, and made it perfectly clear that Quebec was far from being a social Utopia. The remarkable thing is that such a diverse society should have been a working unit, especially when we remember the widely different regions and historical backgrounds from which the Quebec settlers had originally been drawn. The explanation lies in the fundamental homogeneity of the people; for whatever their back-

<sup>1</sup>Baron de La Hontan, *Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, (Paris, 1703), I, 15; P. Kalm, *Voyages in North America*, (ed. A. B. Benson, New York, 1937), II, 430.



ground, the people of Quebec were practically all Roman Catholics and of French blood. They spoke the same language, shared the same basic ideas and were able to work together as a coherent group.

The rapid changes which visitors noticed in the appearance of Quebec typified the amazing fluidity of its social classes. It is practically impossible to divide Quebec society into the conventional castes. Only the Governor, Intendant and Bishop, could be placed with reasonable certainty. As for the other political and judicial officials who might be expected to form the upper class, most of them were actually farmers or merchants, many of whom dabbled in the fur trade or sold goods over the counter. Intermarriage among Quebec families was so frequent that by 1700 there was scarcely a member of any trade who was not connected with those in almost every other occupation.<sup>2</sup> Even the division of the Quebec population into the permanent and the temporary residents was difficult to maintain, since so many of the officials and French merchants ended up by making Canada their home. Nor did patents of nobility provide New France with a stable upper class, for they were awarded for achievement rather than for wealth, position, or birth, and generally the recipients of such honours became so conscious of their rank that they ceased to be useful citizens. As the Intendant Champigny remarked, somewhat acidly, "Pride and laziness are the chief faults . . . of the Canadian nobles".<sup>3</sup> Not until after 1750 did there appear a rich capitalist class known as the "Grande Société" which proceeded to drain the country of its money and create a millionaire clique whose ostentatious displays and vices have come, very unfairly, to be regarded as typical of Canadian society under the French regime.<sup>4</sup>

What then was the organization of Quebec society? Apart from the three leading officials whose personalities were secondary to their office, the hierarchy of Quebec social classes seems to have been largely a personal one. It was the great wealth and benevolence of Aubert de la Chesnaye which gave him a position of such influence at the end of the seventeenth century; the intellectual acumen of Verrier and the great medical skill of Sarrazin explain the high esteem in which both of these men were held in eighteenth century Quebec. And even during the last decade of the French regime, the men who controlled the town were not representatives of the old families of Quebec; they were unscrupulous adventurers or officers of the army or state who used their brains and cunning to raise themselves to important positions. There was, therefore, no hard and fast rule why men should assume leadership in Quebec society. Some had unexpected, even undeserved, streaks of luck; others had great qualities of mind and heart. The pressure of economic necessity and the constant shifting of population made it certain that the social system of Quebec would remain sufficiently flexible to allow any man of character, intelligence and initiative to climb by his own efforts from the bottom rung to the top of the ladder.

<sup>2</sup>Mère Juchereau de St. Ignace, *Les Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec*, (ed. A. Jamet, Que., 1939), xxxii, Introduction; Public Archives of Quebec, Registres de Notre-Dame de Québec, 1620-67, 1667-1703.

<sup>3</sup>*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, (Que., 1917) XXII, 283, Champigny to Minister, Que., May 10, 1691.

<sup>4</sup>*Quebec Archives Report*, (Beauceville, 1925) 1924-5, 197, List of Canadian millionaires with dates and fortunes. Only two of them were residents in Canada before 1749.



Such a society could hardly provide a replica of the social conditions at Versailles. The capital of Canada was a far cry from that of France. The Chateau St. Louis, with its single reception hall, was very different from the great palace of the Sun King, and the drawing rooms of the Quebec ladies bore less resemblance to the salons of Paris than did the gambling which flourished in the first to the intellectual discussions of the second.

Yet, however different their characteristics, we must look beyond these to the factors which influenced them, if the comparison is to be fair and comprehensive. There is, in the first place, the economic factor. Established by Champlain as a fur-trading post and a seaport, Quebec always remained a commercial centre of importance. And the various aspects of its economic life left a very considerable impression upon the social conditions of the town. The ships from France and the French West Indies that filled the Quebec harbour every spring and summer provided the town with an ever-changing population of foreign traders and travellers, soldiers, sailors and sea-captains who kept Quebec closely in touch with news and fashions in Europe and elsewhere. Small wonder that native Quebecers did not have the rustic air of people living in the outlying provinces of France, but could lay claim to "a gay and sprightly behaviour with great sweetness and politeness of manner".<sup>5</sup> More important, however, was the fact that without her foreign trade, Quebec would have had little opportunity to acquire capital and build up the various industries and occupations by which so many of the people lived. The warehouses and shipyards which crowded the quay, the lumber yards, meat-drying sheds, biscuit factories and flour mills, all depended for their existence upon the demands of the Ile Royale and the French West Indies. And not only did the ships take away the surplus products of Canada's farms and workshops, they also brought a great variety of food and clothes and manufactured goods without which Quebec society could scarcely have survived. Wines and vinegar, olives and soap, guns and string, linen and window-glass were among the assortment provided by La Rochelle merchants. Cod, fish and rope came from Cape Breton; sugar and molasses and tropical delicacies from Martinique and Guadeloupe.<sup>6</sup> Since stringent regulations kept all imports in Quebec warehouses for one month before they could be distributed to Three Rivers and Montreal,<sup>7</sup> it was no accident that the standards of living were higher in the capital than elsewhere in the colony: no accident either that Quebec was ahead of all Canada in fashions of food and clothes.<sup>8</sup>

Not only did the ships coming in to Quebec each year bring new ideas and material goods, they also furnished the impetus for the

<sup>5</sup>Public Archives of Canada, Archives des Colonies, Series CIIA, LXVII, Anonymous Memoire, 1737; *Que. Arch. Rep.* (Beauceville, 1932) 1931-32, 10, La Pause, Memoire en Canada, 1755-60; F. X. Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, (ed. J. P. Kellog, Chicago, 1923) 1, 117, Oct. 28, 1720

<sup>6</sup>La Rochelle, Archives de la Charente Inférieure, Amirauté, Numeros Provisaires, XCVIII Rôle d'Equipages des navres, 1679; CI, Rôle d'Equipages, 1684; CLVI, Declaration de la Cargaison, 1747.

<sup>7</sup>P.A.C., AC, Series CIIA, XLI, Bégon to Council, Versailles, Oct. 26, 1720.

<sup>8</sup>Kalm, *Voyages*, II, 403, 446-7; *B.R.H.* (Que., 1933) XXXVIII, 634-5, Memoire of La Pause, 1756.

functioning of Quebec society throughout the summer months. From the arrival of the first ship in early May to the departure of the last one in October, social life in Quebec was one mad whirl which helped to earn for the town the title of "Le Petit Versailles". Frequently, the incoming ships had on board some high-ranking official whose arrival called for processions of welcome and a great round of receptions, dinners and calls. Frequently too, letters from France contained pieces of good news which warranted enthusiastic celebrations and long nights of feasting and dancing.<sup>9</sup> As the departure of the ships became imminent, the tempo increased. Officials from Montreal and Three Rivers came to Quebec to send off their letters; traders and shopkeepers from all parts of Canada congregated in the town bringing furs and other products for export. "From the first of September," Montcalm reported, "the town of Quebec has a commercial appearance and a most excited atmosphere".<sup>10</sup> Then, with the departure of the ships, an exhausted tranquility descended upon Quebec, as the inhabitants prepared for the isolation and cold of the oncoming winter.

The fur trade, also, left its mark upon Quebec society. Although by the end of the 17th century, Montreal, rather than Quebec, was the principal centre of the Indian trade, it was through the port of Quebec that all the goods bound for the up-country had to pass, as well as all the pelts exported legally from the colony. Quebec may have lacked the boisterous quality of Montreal, with its voyageurs and coureurs-de-bois, but the uncertain and dangerous element was apparent even more. To the very end of the French regime, Indians from the Jesuit Missions at Jeune and Ancien Lorette and St. François de Sales and Abenakis and Montagnais came annually to Quebec with furs and strings of wampum, to trade and work out peace treaties.<sup>11</sup> And, although the coureurs-de-bois naturally preferred to keep far away from the official atmosphere of Quebec, this was not so oppressive as to prevent some of the most notorious of them from coming openly to the town.<sup>12</sup> Thus the fur trade provided Quebec with some of its excitement and contributed towards making it less stable and more adventurous.

The second important influence upon Quebec society stemmed from the town's position as the capital of New France. The presence of the Governor, Intendant and Sovereign Council gave it prestige and provided it with an official upper class not dependent on wealth and birth. State officials, by virtue of their positions, were obliged to act as hosts at government receptions whose size and brilliance, while not equal to those of the French court, were none-the-less calculated to

<sup>9</sup>Kalm, *Voyages*, II, 464-5, Reception of La Jonquière; J. B., *Travels in New France*, (Pennsylvania Historical Society Publication, Harrisburg, 1941) 17-8, Birth of the Duke of Burgundy; P.A.C., AC, Series C11A, XLVIII, Beauharnois to Minister, Que., Oct. 1, 1726, Marriage of Louis XV.

<sup>10</sup>(Ed.) H. R. Casgrain, Marquis de Montcalm, *Journal des Campagnes en Canada*, (Quebec 1893) 306, Autumn, 1757.

<sup>11</sup>(Ed.) R. G. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, (Cleveland, 1896-1901) LXVI, 157, D'Avaugour to Father Germain, Lorette, Oct. 9, 1710; LXVII, 94, Rasles to nephew, Nanrantsouak, Oct. 15, 1722.

<sup>12</sup>P.A.C., AC, Series C11A, XXXIV, Neret & Gayot to Minister, La Rochelle, 1714; XXXVII, De Monseignat to Council, Que., Nov. 4, 1717.



impress even visitors from Europe. During the last five years of the French regime, under the leadership of the Intendant Bigot and the Chevalier de Levis, these festivities became particularly numerous and extravagant and have been remembered by succeeding generations largely because they set such a thoroughly bad example of gambling, over-drinking and immorality.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, it may be pointed out that the example and patronage of government officials also promoted the development of culture in Quebec. It was under the protection of the Governor that amateur theatricals had flourished at the end of the seventeenth century and that libraries consisting of several hundreds of volumes were built up in the eighteenth.<sup>14</sup> Thanks also to this group of educated Frenchmen, the philosophical and religious ideas prevalent in contemporary France, at the risk of incurring the wrath of the religious authorities, were introduced into the colony.<sup>15</sup>

The impact of Quebec's official position was seen, too, in other spheres. Because Quebec was the capital of New France, there came to it a steady stream of Indian ambassadors, English envoys and foreign visitors, who helped to keep the inhabitants more closely in touch with the political affairs of the western hemisphere. Thanks to the location in Quebec of the Sovereign Council and the Prévôté Court the town enjoyed the benefits of law and order to a degree found nowhere else in New France. Although occasional brawls did break out in the taverns, it is astonishing how few threats to the maintenance of peace are found in the Quebec records. Rioting, robbery, house-breaking and even malicious gossip were summarily dealt with by the Quebec Prévôté by use of fines, the wooden horse, the whip and the pillory; and the serious crimes of murder, rape and large-scaled theft were punished by the Council with hanging, branding or deportation.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, it is not surprising that life and property enjoyed a most enviable security in Quebec during the eighteenth century, or that the citizens of Quebec who occupied positions in the various law courts gained a well earned respect for their integrity and energy in the enforcement of the law.

Closely connected with the administrative side of Quebec's existence was the military. As the key to the St. Lawrence and one of the two towns in French North America boasting of European fortifications, Quebec was inevitably the most important garrison city of New France. The impact of the resident garrison upon the social life of any town is well known. Instability and immorality are results common to any age and any country, and the contributions made by

<sup>13</sup>Comte de Malartic, *Journal des Campagnes au Canada de 1755 à 1760*, (Paris, c. 1880) 92-3, Jan. 3, 1757; *Canadian Archives Report*, (Ottawa, (1929) 1929, Appendix A, 56, Montcalm to his wife, Montreal, April 16, 1757; (ed.) H. R. Casgrain, Montcalm, *Lettres au Chevalier de Levis*, (Quebec, 1893) 155, Montcalm to Levis, Que., Jan. 1759.

<sup>14</sup>*Que. Arch. Rep.* (Beauceville, 1922) 1921-2, 243-56, Inventory of Vaudreuil's furniture, 1726; *B.R.H.* (Que. 1935) Inventory of Library of Gaillard, Councillor, Jan. 11, 1730.

<sup>15</sup>P.A.C., AC, Series C11A, CXIV, Inventory of Cugnet's furnishings, 1742; Montcalm, *Journal*, 189, Jan. 12, 1758.

<sup>16</sup>P.A.C., AC, Series C11A, XXXIV, D'Auteuil to Minister, France, 1714; LXIII, Hocquart to Minister, Que. Oct. 10, 1732.



the gay French officers and soldiers who flooded Quebec during the winters of 1756, '57 and '58 merely accentuated conditions which had existed since the building of Fort St. Louis. But the garrison of the fort did make some useful contributions to the town. For one thing, it helped to solve the ever-acute labour shortage, since men in the *Troupes de la Marine* were permitted to hire themselves out as workmen or craftsmen, and thus earn a little extra cash. Some of them became so interested in their new jobs and new wives that they left the military service to swell the ranks of employed civilians, a transfer which the king was glad to sanction in the interests of the colonial population.<sup>17</sup> Further, the soldiers and officers of the garrison did much to help in the social activities of Quebec. With a considerable proportion of the male population absent on commercial ventures or fur-trading expeditions, the picnics, dances and sleighing parties which entertained the Quebec ladies during the winter months would have been sorry affairs indeed without the help of the troops.<sup>18</sup> Although the spectacular landing of over 1200 troops of the Carignan-Salières regiment was not repeated until 1756, there came every year to Quebec a steady stream of French soldiers. Many of them spent only a few hours in the capital before being sent off to defend frontier posts or to man other garrison towns. But the influence of these constant arrivals and departures must have done much to increase the instability, the prestige and the excitement of Quebec. As for the great bales of military supplies which came to the Quebec storehouses every year, their unloading and distribution provided employment for dozens of Quebec citizens and dishonest fortunes for a few rogues who knew how to profit by the king's gullibility and his officials' mistakes.<sup>19</sup>

Only one influence upon Quebec social conditions remains to be considered, that of the church. Although the church was at no time the dominating element in the life of the town, its influence upon the people was profound and many-sided. The very fact that Quebec was the official residence of the Bishop and the headquarters of the Jesuits added to the prestige which it already enjoyed as the chief port, military and administrative centre. The close contact which Quebec citizens had with prelates, priests and nuns, must have had a very great influence upon their attitude to the church. With five chapels and a cathedral in which to worship, with examples of holiness always before their eyes, it is not strange that many of the people of Quebec were exceptionally devout. And yet, there is evidence to show that there were definite limits to their devotion and obedience. When the Superior of the Jesuit Order twice in one season refrained from preaching in the parish church of Quebec because the congregation was not large enough to make the effort worthwhile, when a

<sup>17</sup>*B.R.H.* (Que. 1916) XXII, 217, *Memoire of La Potherie*, 1701; P.A.C., AC, Series C11A, LXVII, *Memoire re. Canada*, anon., 1737; Paris, Archives Nationales, Colonies, Series A, XXI, King to La Jonquière, Versailles, April 10, 1750.

<sup>18</sup>(Ed.) W. B. Lindsay, *Edits, Arrêts, Ordonnances Royaux*, (Que. 1854), II, 398, Ordinance of Bigot, Dec. 24, 1748; Paris, AN, Archives de la Guerre, Series A1, vol. 3417, Duchet to Chatel, Carillon, July 15, 1756.

<sup>19</sup>P.A.C., AC, Series B, XV, Supplies sent to Canada, March 8, 1688; Series C11A, XXXVI, Vaudreuil to Duke of Orleans, Feb. 1716; La Jonquière *Le Chef d'Escadre, Marquis de la Jonquière*, (Paris, 1889) 269, Appendix II, King to La Jonquière, Versailles, April 30, 1749.

number of Quebecers had to be compelled by the Council to furnish their quota of communion bread, when it took the full force of episcopal authority to prevent the performance of Molière's "Tartuffe", it would seem that the religious authorities did not possess that stranglehold on public thought with which they are usually credited. This became particularly noticeable during the eighteenth century when the rationalist ideas prevalent in Europe began to filter into the colony through the writings of Voltaire, Locke and the Jansenists, and a few Huguenot clerks and traders began to impair the complete religious homogeneity of the Quebec citizens.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, in spite of the battles waged by Bishops Laval and St. Vallier, the church had failed to enforce clerical standards of morality and modesty in the colony. The ladies continued to wear their low-necked dresses and the gentlemen to race their horses on Sunday; gambling, drinking and prostitution continued in spite of clerical fury; brandy was still sold to the Indians; and books, which could not possibly have met with clerical approval, found their way into the libraries of the councillors. Hence, long before the fall of Quebec, the church of New France had abandoned all pretensions to the control of non-ecclesiastical affairs. It still sang *Te Deums* for events of political or military significance; it still tried, though somewhat vainly, to impose the discipline of good behaviour on those attending the church service, but it no longer interfered successfully in general or important matters of state or society.<sup>21</sup>

Yet the influence of the church upon Quebec society remained strong owing to its control of the two vital social services, the hospitals and the schools. It was only natural that these two important organizations should have been in the hands of the religious orders, for they alone possessed the financial resources needed to erect suitable buildings, the skilled professional training, the stability and permanence requisite for such large-scaled undertakings. The records of the early eighteenth century are themselves a tribute to the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec, in whose crowded wards the sisters of the Augustinian Order battled with ship-fever, smallpox, influenza and countless other diseases.<sup>22</sup> The high standards of cleanliness, the careful study of drugs and medicines, and the successful experiments in complicated surgery which characterized the Hôtel-Dieu and later the Hôpital-Général of Quebec, are a revelation to those who are accustomed to think of eighteenth century hospitals in terms of butchery and filth. Naturally, the nursing sisters made the most of their opportunities and preached their religious faith as they distributed drugs and care. More than one Huguenot soldier imbibed Catholic doctrine along with his

<sup>20</sup>P.A.C., AC, Series C11A, LXXV, Beauharnois & Hocquart to Minister, Que., Sept. 18, 1741; CXIV, Inventory of Cugnet's possessions, 1742.

<sup>21</sup>*Jugements et Délibérations*, V, 167, Oct. 12, 1705; VI, 665, Aug. 14, 1713; (eds.) H. Têtu, Horace and C. O. Gagnon, *Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Québec*, 1659-1876, (Que. 1889) 1,540, Ordinance of Chartier de Lotbinière, Feb. 10, 1732; II, 101-4, Mandement of Pontbriand, Aug. 20, 1756.

<sup>22</sup>Paris, AN, Archives de la Marine, Series B2, CXXIV, Minister to Munitionnaires Généraux, Versailles, Feb. 13, 1687; CCXIV, Minister to De Couron, Versailles, July 31, 1709; AN, Series T, LXXVIII-IX, Mme. Duplessis de Ste. Hélène to Mme. Hecquet, Que., Oct. 18, 1733.



medicines.<sup>23</sup> But such religious activity did not in any way impair the tremendous contribution made by the nurses to the health of Quebec's population.

As for education, it was traditionally the province of the church and the children of Quebec were highly fortunate in the provisions made for them. The Jesuits had a wide and well-deserved reputation as the best schoolmasters of Europe, and it was to them that the boys of the town went for both primary and secondary education. At the bottom of the educational pyramid there was the elementary class where the traditional "three R's" were reinforced with large doses of catechism. At the age of ten the boys entered the Jesuit College where for five years they concentrated upon the study of languages, mathematics and the humanities, assisted at all times by the most modern educational methods. A staff of five full-time professors had the responsibility for carrying out this curriculum, but all the Jesuits who happened to be in residence at Quebec were expected to do their share of teaching in the College. Since many of them were men of exceptional intelligence, it is not hard to understand why the standards of the Jesuit school remained so high.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, it is scarcely possible to over-estimate the tremendous contribution made by it to the education of the men of Quebec over a period of one hundred and twenty years. One needs only to read the list of Jesuit pupils, the Lotbinières, the Repentignys, and the Vaudreuils, to see what a profound influence the Jesuits must have had upon the leading families of the colony.

Assisting the Jesuits in the education of Quebec boys was the Seminary. Although its chief work lay in providing priests for Canadian parishes and missionaries for far-off fields, the Seminary was soon forced to expand its interests in education. It was clear that it was impossible to take young men from the farms and workshops of the colony and turn them into clerics in three years. Hence, in 1668, there was founded the Petit Séminaire with the object of introducing boys to the life and ideals of the priesthood, and of teaching them the elements of theology and philosophy. An arrangement with the Jesuit College provided further studies in the humanities, languages and mathematics. When the students graduated, after five years in the Petit Séminaire, they had the chance, if they wished it, of continuing further theological studies in the Grand Séminaire to qualify them for ordination, but only about one-eighth availed themselves of this opportunity. All the others went back to the secular life of the colony, but thanks to the combined efforts of the Petit Séminaire and the Jesuit College, they went back as fairly well-educated men.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Juchereau, *Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu*, 343, Diary of 1709; *B.R.H.* (Que., 1905) XI, Abjurations of heresy, 1740.

<sup>24</sup>A. Gosselin, *L'Instruction au Canada sous le Regime Français*, (Que. 1911) 281-306; C. Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII<sup>e</sup>. siècle*, (Paris, 1896) III, 374; Thwaites, *Jes. Rel.* XLV, 274, Revenues of Jesuits in Canada, 1701; Paris, AN, Colonies, Series C11E, XI, Beauharnois & Hocquart to Minister, Que. Oct. 22, 1741.

<sup>25</sup>*Edits et Ordonnances*, I, 34, Establishment of Quebec Seminary, March 26, 1663; *Que. Arch. Rep.* 1939-40, 202, Laval to Cardinals, Que., Nov. 6, 1665; Thwaites, *Jes. Rel.* LII, 46-8, Relation of 1667-8; La Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, I, 238.



For those who did not wish a purely intellectual education, both the Seminary and the College provided a certain amount of technical and scientific training. Although the farm and craft school at St. Joachim was of short duration, the Seminary continued to support its theory of learning by doing, and each student was required to learn and practice a trade in the workshops of Quebec. The Jesuits furnished the intellectual counterpart of this craft training for under their auspices, with the support of the king, a variety of classes on navigation, hydrography and mathematics were held for those wishing to become navigators or surveyors.<sup>26</sup> The real weakness of Quebec education for boys lay in the elementary schools. Until 1699, the only alternative to the Jesuit school in the Upper Town was attendance at the class of one of the itinerant teachers who wandered through the streets by the docks. In that year, however, this deplorable situation was righted by the opening of an elementary class under a Seminary priest, in the basement of the Lower Town church. By the mid eighteenth century, three teachers were kept busy providing the foundation on which all secondary and technical education could be based.<sup>27</sup>

To these various schools for boys must be added those operated by the Ursulines and the Sisters of the Congregation for the girls of the district. It would be natural to suppose that in a colonial society where life was hard and practical, little attention would be given to the education of women. Yet such was not the case in Quebec where, as early as 1642, the Ursuline nuns had opened a boarding and day school to educate both Indian and French-Canadian girls. So efficiently did they work, and so popular was their convent, that by 1664 Marie de l'Incarnation boasted proudly that not a girl in the town of Quebec had failed to pass through her hands.<sup>28</sup> Gradually, however, as standards of living in the colony continued to rise, the cost of sending girls to the Ursuline convent became prohibitive to many and the school developed a distinctly bourgeois atmosphere. The education which the Ursulines offered the girls of Quebec was somewhat different from that offered to the boys. The three staples of reading, writing and arithmetic, along with smatterings of history and geography and plentiful doses of catechism completed the intellectual side of the programme. But, in addition, the Ursuline pupils were provided with all the practical accomplishments of French ladies. They learned to sew, gild and embroider, to sing and play the violin, and even to dance. Hence, when they graduated from the Ursuline school, the girls of Quebec were equipped to take their place in colonial society.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup>P.A.C., AC, Series C11A, XVIII, Callières and Champigny to Minister, Que., Oct. 18, 1700; LXXV, Hocquart to Minister, Que., Oct. 19, 1744.

<sup>27</sup>Archives du Séminaire de Québec, "Paroisse", No. 126, Fondation des Ecoles, Jan. 22, 1699, notarial document by Chambalon; L. Groulx, *L'Enseignement Français au Canada*, (Montreal), 1934, I, 20.

<sup>28</sup>Marie de l'Incarnation, *Lettres Historiques*, II, 285, Marie de l'Incarnation to an Ursuline of Tours, Que., Aug. 19, 1664.

<sup>29</sup>(Ed.) A. Jamet, Marie de l'Incarnation, *Ecrits Spirituels et Historiques*, (Quebec, 1929-39) III, 167, Mère Anne de Sté. Claire to Ursulines of Paris, Que., Sept. 2, 1640; Charlevoix, *Journal*, I, 110; *Que. Arch. Rep.* 1934-5, 26, Mme. Bégon to her son, Montreal, Jan. 9, 1749.

As for the Sisters of the Congregation, their large house in the Lower Town provided the complement to the aristocratic training of the Ursuline convent, for there a hundred day pupils learned the fundamental subjects along with the practical arts of housekeeping and went back to do their share in running their homes and managing their husbands' business.<sup>30</sup>

As a result of these many schools for boys and girls, it is probable that by the eighteenth century there was as high a standard of education in Quebec as in most of the provincial cities of France. If the figures given in the records of the various Orders are correct, after 1700 almost all the children of Quebec went to School for a few years and acquired at least the rudiments of an education. This then, was the most far-reaching contribution of the church to Quebec social conditions; for thanks to the schools which flourished under the religious Orders, literacy and culture, shallow though they may have been, were widespread. It was Charlevoix, the Jesuit professor, who best described the practical results of Quebec education. "The people of Quebec," he wrote in 1721, "reason like politicians on what is past and form conjectures on what is likely to happen; the sciences and arts have also their part, so that conversation never flags for want of matter . . . Our language is nowhere more purely spoken . . . and the least rusticity in language or behaviour is utterly unknown."<sup>31</sup>

It was the combination of these economic, political, military and religious factors that made the social conditions of Quebec unique in French North America. Montreal might be a great trading centre, and the home of fine schools and convents, but it lacked the close economic and political contacts with Europe which Quebec enjoyed. New Orleans might enjoy the benefits of a seaport and a seat of government, but it could not boast of European fortifications nor of an active place in the vital fur trade. Louisbourg represented the armed might of the King of France, and its harbour was crowded with ships from far and near, but it was simply an isolated outpost without the great trading hinterland and administrative and judicial influence of the capital of New France. Quebec was an unparalleled combination of all these various characteristics. And yet it was scarcely more than a small town, even by eighteenth century standards. Perhaps, indeed, because of its size not one of the various elements in its composition was able to dominate the others; all combined to make Quebec, not a "Petit Versailles", where glitter and pomp covered a rotten and corrupt society, but a practical, hardworking colonial town, whose prestige and reputation depended on its own unrivalled importance within the colony of New France.

<sup>30</sup>A. Gosselin, *L'Instruction au Canada, 187-93*.

# BISHOP'S UNIVERSITY AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROVERSIES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

(1845—1878)

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THE MIDDLE nineteenth century was a period of sharp controversy over religion throughout the Anglo-Saxon world. The Wesleyan revival had run its course first in Britain and later in the United States and Canada; but the Church of England was still attempting to resist the inroads of Methodism on both sides of the Atlantic and not least in Canada. While the Methodists had left the church, the Evangelical party, whose views were similar, remained within it. The adherents of Venn, Simeon, Wilberforce and Shaftesbury continued to expound their views with telling effect and gloried in the name of Protestant. At the other extreme came the Tractarians (Newman, Keble, Pusey, *et al*) who claimed with equal fervour that they were Catholics.

At the same time the Liberals or "broad churchmen" were beginning to be heard. This movement, which was headed by F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, had no clear doctrinal basis. Its followers were interested in what would now be called the social gospel. They were anxious to revive a sense of corporate responsibility for the welfare of their fellow countrymen. They were much less exacting than either the Tractarians or the Evangelicals in the requirements which they considered necessary for admission to the church. This "Broad Church" group, Maurice in particular, favoured a critical approach to the Bible. However, despite these gestures in the direction of higher criticism, the Church of England was comparatively undisturbed by their ideas until the publication in 1860 of *Essays and Reviews* in which the findings of the higher critics were described with approval. The authors of this volume, including Frederick Temple, later Archbishop of Canterbury and Benjamin Jowett, the famous Oxford scholar, were promptly and vigorously attacked. An even greater sensation was created by the publication in 1861 of the first part of Bishop Colenso's volume, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*. At the same time, the appearance of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 set going the still more bitter controversy between the clergy and some of Darwin's disciples, particularly T. H. Huxley. In a dramatic appearance in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, Disraeli castigated both higher critics and scientists, declaring himself to be "on the side of the angels".

It was in this atmosphere of vigorous controversy that Bishop's College was established in the 1840's. Incorporated in 1843 as an Anglican college to teach divinity and the liberal arts, Bishop's became an important exponent of Anglican theology. The college was a frontier outpost against the forces of Methodism, Evangelicalism and Liberalism.



The most important exponents of the ideas for which Bishop's stood were the third Bishop of Quebec, G. J. Mountain, founder of the college, Jasper Nicolls, its Principal from 1845 to 1877, and Archdeacon Henry Roe, one of its first students and later the Dean of Divinity. Mountain, a man of aristocratic and rather delicate countenance, essentially a pioneer bishop who undertook visitations throughout his diocese under rigorous conditions, was the dominant influence in the counsels of the college from 1843 to 1863. Principal Nicolls was a fine teacher, beloved by his students; and during a long tenure of office he impressed his ideas on a whole generation. Roe, a man of great determination, was greatly influenced by Nicolls and became a faithful exponent of his ideas. There were no important differences of opinion in regard to doctrine among these three. Letters and scattered utterances by other graduates of the college show that they pretty well reflected the views of the three.

While the Bishop's theologians were not unaware of the utterances of Liberals and higher critics they regarded the Methodists and the Evangelicals as a more immediate problem. This paper is mainly concerned with the attitude of Bishop's to these two latter groups.

It is necessary at the outset to outline the principal issues in dispute between the Tractarians and other Anglican high churchmen on the one hand and the Methodists and Evangelicals on the other. It is difficult to conceive precise terms which will be free from associations not intended by the author. For the purposes of this discussion I call the viewpoint of the Tractarians and other high churchmen "Catholic" and that of the Methodists and their Anglican counterparts "Evangelical". The two schools of thought represented very different conceptions of the nature of Christianity and of the Christian church. Unless these doctrinal issues are understood no real grasp of the historic controversy between "Anglican Catholics" and Evangelicals is possible.

The Evangelical was chiefly concerned with the relationship of the individual Christian to God. The Christian, he believed, was saved from the consequence of sin by a personal acceptance of God the Son as his Saviour. The church for the Evangelical was an invisible body composed of all those individuals who had established this vital connection with the deity. The Catholic too was concerned with salvation but, in the effort to secure it, he stressed the importance of membership in God's corporate church rather than the establishment of an individual or personal relationship with the deity. The church, to the Catholic, was the visible church: a body of priests in direct succession, if not from St. Peter himself, at least from the original group of apostles.

Out of this initial difference came all the other differences. For the Evangelical salvation was secured by faith. Good works were a part of the Christian life and were an inevitable result of faith; but they were not a means of salvation. The Catholic by no means disregarded faith but he thought primarily in terms of salvation as a result of good works. He regarded faithful participation in the sacraments of the church as both a source of refreshment and a species of

good work. The Evangelical stressed the need of some process of conversion by which the individual became fundamentally transformed in a new relationship with God the Son. The Catholic thought less of conversion than of a continuous association with the church through participation in its offices: baptism, confirmation and the holy communion. He tended to assume that all who were in close communion with the visible church were converted. Differences in attitude toward the church and the nature of salvation involved a difference in attitude toward the clergy. To the Evangelical the clergyman was essentially a minister in the literal sense; to the Catholic he was a priest, a mediator between the individual Christian and God. The authority of the Evangelical was essentially the Bible; that of the Catholic the church which interpreted it. In short the Evangelical was in the tradition of the Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century; the Catholic was in the tradition of the mediaeval church.

Between these two schools of thought, Catholic and Evangelical, no *via media* was really possible. Either one believed that the Church of England as an institution was the true church or at least a part of the true church or one did not. For the Evangelical no visible church nor any combination of the visible churches was the true church. Religious denominations were convenient organizations in which Christians could find fellowship together; but the Evangelical denied that they could make any claims to exclusive authority or to exclusive privileges. The Anglican Evangelical differed from the Methodist Evangelical mainly in a preference for the Anglican polity and the Anglican liturgy; but in other respects their positions were the same. Neither regarded it as of vital importance whether the Christian was inside the Church of England or outside it so long as he was converted.

Although they expressed some ideas on salvation of which the Evangelicals would have approved,<sup>1</sup> Mountain, Nicolls, Roe and indeed the whole Bishop's group were dominantly Catholic. The only Evangelical of any importance at Bishop's in this period was Isaac Hellmuth, later Bishop of Huron, who was Professor of Hebrew; but he resigned in 1853 after a quarrel with another member of the faculty and had no appreciable influence on the theology of the university. Although in regard to man's need of salvation, Mountain at times appeared to talk like the Evangelicals,<sup>2</sup> unlike them, he insisted upon the unique function of the church in making possible its achievement. He envisaged the church not as any body of believers which might agree "upon this or that arrangement" but as "an Order of men" constituted to preach the word and administer its religious ordinances.

<sup>1</sup>G. J. Mountain, *Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Quebec*, 1848, (Quebec, 1848), p. 20; A. W. Mountain, *Memoir of G. J. Mountain*, (Montreal, 1866), pp. 170, 199; J. H. Nicolls *A Confirmation Sermon, preached in the Chapel of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, June 17, 1866*, (Montreal, 1866), p. 4; Henry Roe, "Sermon on the death of Bishop Mountain, preached in Quebec on January 11, 1863", (manuscript in possession of Bishop's University); Isaac Brock, *The English Reformation; its Principles and Blessings*, (sermon preached in St. Peter's Church, Sherbrooke, 1878), p. 6; *Lennoxville Magazine*, 1868, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup>Mountain, *Charge to the Clergy of Quebec*, 1848, p. 20; Mountain, *Letter addressed to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Quebec—together with some Considerations previously prepared to be addressed to the same parties*, (Quebec, 1858), p. 71; A. W. Mountain, *Memoir*, p. 199.



It was a body whose bishops were "invested with authority to transmit this commission from age to age"<sup>3</sup>. Mountain, and the whole Bishop's group, believed firmly that the Church of England was in direct, historical descent from the apostolical and primitive church from which its authority was transmitted. The design of the Reformers in the sixteenth century, according to a headmaster of Bishop's College School, had been merely "to restore that which was most ancient and edifying in the form and order of the Church . . . ; that which was Apostolical, that which was Primitive, that which was Catholic; . . ."<sup>4</sup>

Emphasizing as they did the position of the visible and apostolic church, the members of the Bishop's group laid greater emphasis upon the sacraments as channels of divine grace than did the Evangelicals. "The Church of England maintains the high and sacred importance of the two sacraments and their living efficacy, when rightly applied, as direct vehicles of grace . . .," wrote Mountain in 1858.<sup>5</sup>

Although admitting that the Bible was the rule of faith Mountain and his associates insisted that its interpretation was a function of the church. The bishop stoutly denied the proposition, "there is the Bible, and every man is to make what he can of it, and that is the way in which the Christian Faith is to be propagated over the world."<sup>6</sup> The Bishop's group also stressed the authority of the clergy. Nicolls, for instance, insisted that if the clergy be a chief medium of blessing to the people, "it cannot but be an awful thing to despise and trample under foot, as some do, their authority."<sup>7</sup>

In every issue over which Catholics and Evangelicals were in disagreement (the nature of the church, the place of the sacraments in the Christian life, the need of conversion, the authority of the clergy and of the Bible) Bishop's was essentially Catholic. The Bishop's library contained numerous pamphlets expounding the Catholic viewpoint.<sup>8</sup>

It naturally followed that Bishop's was sympathetic to the Tractarians. Nicolls had been an undergraduate at Oriel in Newman's time and was much influenced by the movement. Mountain, an older type of high churchman was a little nervous about Nicolls' ideas. When about to become his father-in-law, he wrote to Mrs. Mountain, "he may have some *leanings* in Religion upon particular points,

<sup>3</sup>G. J. Mountain, *Letter to the Clergy and Laity of Quebec*, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup>Brock, *The English Reformation*, p. 8; J. Nicolls, *The Ministerial Office, A Sermon Preached at the ordination of priests, in the Cathedral Church of Montreal*, (Montreal, 1852), p. 11; Henry Roe, "Sermon on the death of Bishop Mountain January 18, 1863", (manuscript in possession of the author).

<sup>5</sup>G. J. Mountain, *Letter . . .*, p. 35; *Charge . . .*, 1848, p. 33.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>7</sup>Nicolls, *The Ministerial Office*, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup>*Schism*, published by the S.P.C.K.; *The Danger of Dissent*, by the Rev. W. Gresley M.S., Church Society, Diocese of Toronto; *A Caution against Enthusiasm*, being the Second Part of the Bishop of London's Fourth Pastoral Letter, London 1818, S.P.C.K.; *The Authority of a Threefold Ministry in the Church*. Bishops, Priests and Deacons Proved from the New Testament. By William Hey, (London, 1839). *A Letter to a Methodist* by a Presbyterian of the Diocese of Maryland, United States. Part 1, Invalidity of Mr. Wesley's Ordinations. Part 2, Objections to the Principle and Policy of the Methodist Society. Part 3, The Apostolical Succession of the Christian Ministry, (Cobourg 1844. Church Society, Diocese of Toronto).



acquired at Oxford, which are not in *perfect* accordance with my own views upon those points"; but he added that Nicolls was "a sound believer — and uncompromising Churchman."<sup>9</sup> Mountain believed the Tractarians to be essentially sound. In correcting "many loose and low notions which widely prevailed" he considered them as a healthy counter to the Evangelicals. He regretted that many of the Tractarians had entered the Roman Catholic church because, as he said, it enabled the Evangelicals to "represent all maintenance of ancient order and discipline — as tending towards popery."<sup>10</sup> Mountain's attitude toward the Tractarians was characterized by incidental doubt and basic sympathy; that of Nicolls and the younger Bishop's men probably by less doubt and more sympathy.

For the Liberals Bishop's had no use. After the publication of *Essays and Reviews*, Mountain denounced its authors because they were "busy in suggesting, more than suggesting, busy in recommending — the rejection, piece by piece, of all which constitutes the value of the Bible."<sup>11</sup> A few years later the *Lennoxville Magazine* made a vigorous attack on Bishop Colenso.<sup>12</sup> The most measured attack upon the Liberals was made by J. H. Thompson, a former Professor of Divinity at Bishop's, in a sermon preached at Lennoxville in 1864. The Liberals, he said, had persuaded many that the idea of the peculiar inspiration of the Bible was a calamitous mistake and they were now attempting to establish "a hopeless contradiction between the discoveries of Modern Science and the ancient popular phraseology of the Bible." Having destroyed faith in the historic truth of Christianity, the Liberals sought to create a united, comprehensive and enlightened church formed by a vast complex of creeds, sects and religions. To Professor Thompson this was a gorgeous but cloudy vision.<sup>13</sup>

Thompson, and Nicolls also, insisted that it would be a disaster if an irreparable breach developed between the physical scientists and the church and that it was the function of the university to hold them together. Thompson asserted, "Here alone in this portion of the world can freedom of thought in scientific matters be combined with a reverent regard for Antiquity, a firm belief in a definite body of revealed objective truth, a careful retention of the Nicene Creed, and of all that is essential in the Nicene discipline." Nicolls expressed the same idea in his Convocation Address in 1860 in a passage which began, "it is the business of an University to gather into itself all the branches of learning, to adopt and interweave with the old and well-tried, what is new and modern".

Bishop's reserved its most severe criticism for Methodists and Anglican Evangelicals. They were the principal objects of denunciation by the inner circle at the University and among Bishop's men throughout the Canadian church. The Methodists they feared as powerful opponents who had made thousands of converts among Anglicans. A Bishop's graduate in Ontario referred sadly in 1862 to

<sup>9</sup>Bishop's University, Nicolls Papers, G. J. Mountain to Mrs. Mountain, January 22, 1847.

<sup>10</sup>A. W. Mountain, *Memoir*, p. 250.

<sup>11</sup>G. J. Mountain, *Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Quebec*, 1862 (Quebec, 1862), p. 5.

<sup>12</sup>*Lennoxville Magazine*, 1868, p. 237.

<sup>13</sup>J. H. Thompson, *Revelation and Science, A Sermon preached in St. George's Church, Lennoxville, July 1, 1864*, (Montreal, 1864), pp. 5-8.

the "enormous masses thus stolen from the Church" by the Methodists.<sup>14</sup> This attitude was typical. Hating the Methodists the Bishop's group bitterly resented the Anglican Evangelicals as being, in effect, Methodists who were corrupting the church from within.

Mountain's sermons and episcopal charges were full of scathing remarks about both. He disliked the Methodists because of their views, "the mere contagion of feelings and opinions", as he called them, but even more because they had left the church and were one of "the endless and still multiplying forms of schism."<sup>15</sup> Quite characteristically he described a Methodist missionary to the Mississauga Indians as "a person of the name of Jones" while, in the same letter, he referred to an Anglican missionary as "*Mr. M.*"<sup>16</sup> Equally objectionable were the Evangelicals whom Mountain always regarded contemptuously as 'a party' and, what was worse, a party consisting of "persons who have low and loose views of the church". These people, he asserted, although loud in their criticisms of Romanizing tendencies were not really the friends of those "who love the reformed Church of England".<sup>17</sup> Nicolls' attitude was similar to that of Mountain. He deplored the multiplication of sects, by which he meant the Methodists, and expressed the hope that they would "gradually return back to the fold".<sup>18</sup> He always refused to have anything to do with "party" which, in the language of the high churchmen, meant the Evangelicals. This was a lesson well learned by Archdeacon Henry Roe, one of Nicolls' pupils, who said that he had learned from his teacher "that we ought to try *not* to be party men". In a sermon preached shortly after Nicolls' death, Roe castigated the Evangelicals severely in a passage which began, "There is still found, tho' I hope and believe it is dying out, a lurking disloyalty to the English Church among English Churchmen".<sup>19</sup>

The private papers of Jasper Nicolls are full of letters from Nicolls' students who had graduated and had entered the Anglican ministry in Canada. These contain many accounts of the desperate conflict with the Methodists who were obviously both hated and feared. Of these letters the longest and most striking was from Charles Forest who was one of the original students at Bishop's and who had become the Rector of the parish of Grenville in the Ottawa Valley. In December, 1848 he wrote to Nicolls a twelve-page letter containing a detailed account of his parish: its terrain, its economy, the nature of its people, its various religious denominations and the prospects of his own congregation. Forest devoted particular attention to the rival religious denominations especially the Presbyterians whom he respected and the Methodists whom he despised. He denounced them in the bitterest terms. "If these sectaries have done mischief elsewhere — beyond all bounds they have done so *here*. They have had emissaries at work — the most ignorant and debased of their kind — Men, not only unskilled in everything wh. a divine ought to

<sup>14</sup>Rev. J. Carry, "The Diaconate Needed as a Real Ministry", Appendix D to J. H. Nicolls, *Essay on the Subject of the Restoration of the Diaconate* (Montreal, 1863).

<sup>15</sup>A. W. Mountain, *Memoir*, p. 169; G. J. Mountain, *Charge* . . ., 1862 p. 19.

<sup>16</sup>A. W. Mountain, *Memoir*, pp. 123-4.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 206; G. J. Mountain, *Letter*, p. 65.

<sup>18</sup>Nicolls, *Essay on the Diaconate*, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup>Roe, Sermon on the death of Jasper Nicolls, manuscript in the author's possession.



know, but absolutely unable to read the ordinary text of our Eng. bibles without hesitation and spelling." He continued in this vein for four closely written pages concluding with a detailed and lurid account of a Methodist camp-meeting. "The mischief has been," he insisted, "that a religion of *feelings* has been established! — a "feeling well" or "lively" as they express it, has stood in place of those *convictions & principles* wh. conduce to faith & obedience of the gospel of Christ".<sup>20</sup>

Forest's letter fairly represented the attitude of Bishop's to the Methodists. Indicative of Bishop's attitude to the Evangelicals is a letter written by Nicolls' elder son, Gustavus, when an Oxford undergraduate. Gustavus described a breakfast engagement with a friend at Wadham College. Expecting to find about two or three other men he was horrified to find about twenty including Canon Christopher "the great low-churchman, conversion-man, and prayer-meeting man of Oxford" and Lord Radstock, a prominent Evangelical "supposed by many people to be *mad*, who goes about the country preaching all sorts of rare and curious doctrines". Gustavus described Radstock as "a professing churchman, though at heart almost if not quite a dissenter". Gustavus described his extreme distaste for the Evangelicals and their opinions and concluded, "I managed to sit it out without serious consequences, but came away as soon as I possibly could".<sup>21</sup>

The doctrinal views of the Bishop's group are important because the University exercised a considerable influence on the development of the Canadian church. The period of Nicolls' principalship (1845-77) was one of great expansion of the Church of England in Quebec. In 1846 Quebec had seventy-four clergy; by 1877 the number had nearly doubled. Of the clergy in 1877 over half (thirty out of fifty-three) in the Diocese of Quebec, and over a third (twenty-three out of ninety) in the Diocese of Montreal were Bishop's men, either graduates or members of the faculty. It would not be too inaccurate to say that all the Bishop's men thought alike in matters of doctrine and churchmanship. According to the Bishop of Quebec in 1878, Mountain, in founding Bishop's, had "fondly hoped that he was founding a seminary from which would in due season come forth champions to defend the Church — and maintain in unimpaired purity the faith once delivered."<sup>22</sup>

The result is clear. Henry Roe, in his sermon after Nicolls' death, testified to the unanimity of thought which prevailed among Nicolls' old students. Available evidence in the Nicolls' papers and in the texts of sermons bears out his statement. The impact of this body of thought strengthened the church in Quebec in the fight against Methodism and also helped to prevent the rise of any appreciable Anglican Evangelical movement in the Province. It remained for Ontario and for Wycliffe College, which was founded in 1877, to develop the modern Evangelical wing of the Church of England in Canada.

<sup>20</sup>Nicolls Papers, Letters to Jasper Nicolls from C. Forest, October 14, 1846 and December 30, 1848; Fred Robinson, March 29, 1848 and January 21, 1850; J. J. S. Mountain, February 21, 1849; Septimus Jones, September 24, 1851; Frederick Wilson, October 13, 1851; R. L. Stephenson, January 26, 1852.

<sup>21</sup>Nicolls Papers, Gustavus Nicolls to Harriet Nicolls, February 22, 1872.

<sup>22</sup>*A Sermon preached by the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Quebec at the Consecration of the Chapel of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, June 14, 1878, (Montreal, 1878), p. 5.*



# LES IDÉES POLITIQUES DE LA GAZETTE LITTÉRAIRE DE MONTRÉAL (1778—1779)

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MERCREDI, le 3 juin 1778, les Montréalistes cultivés, ou qui prétendaient l'être, avaient le plaisir de feuilleter leur premier journal. Les citoyens de la capitale jouissaient de ce privilège depuis déjà quatorze ans. Le journal de Montréal eut une existence plus éphémère, —son dernier numéro parut le 2 juin 1779—mais plus mouvementée.

Fleury Mesplet, imprimeur d'origine française qui avait élu domicile à Montréal au printemps de 1776,<sup>1</sup> crut le moment venu de faire concurrence à la *Gazette de Québec*. Voulant peut-être insinuer que les habitants de la future métropole avaient des lettres, il baptisa son "papier périodique" *Gazette du Commerce et littéraire*. Un lecteur, dont nous devons louer le purisme, fit respectueusement remarquer à M. l'Imprimeur que le titre choisi ne respectait peut-être pas les "règles de grammaire et d'élégance". Il aurait préféré *Gazette de Commerce et de Littérature*.<sup>2</sup> Bon prince, l'éditeur reconnut qu'il n'avait pas été heureux dans le choix de son titre. Le 2 septembre, son journal devenait la *Gazette littéraire*. Rendons hommage à son désir de satisfaire ses lecteurs et à son souci de respecter les règles de la grammaire. Il est fort probable que Mesplet avait aussi appris à ses dépens que son entreprise ne serait pas des plus profitables au point de vue commercial. Son prospectus annonçait qu'il se proposait de "remplir la feuille des avertissements publics des affaires qui pourront intéresser le commerce".<sup>3</sup> Clients et souscripteurs se firent plutôt rares: il avoua bientôt ses embarras financiers et son intention de vendre son imprimerie.<sup>4</sup> Seuls les amateurs de littérature et les beaux esprits semblaient s'intéresser au journal montréalais. On ne doit pas oublier tous les ennemis dont le malheureux imprimeur se disait entouré. Ceux-ci l'auraient épié continuellement et se seraient promis de le perdre.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Aegidius Fauteux, "Fleury Mesplet: une étude sur les commencements de l'imprimerie dans la ville de Montréal", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXVIII, deuxième partie (1934), 167—170; R. W. McLachlan, "Fleury Mesplet, the First Printer at Montreal", *Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada*, deuxième série, XII, section 2 (1906), 204—205; Victor Morin, *Fleury Mesplet, pionnier de l'imprimerie à Montréal* (Montréal, 1939), 13—14. M. McLachlan fut l'auteur de la première étude importante consacrée à Fleury Mesplet. Il précisa plusieurs points demeurés obscurs jusqu'alors et corrigea les historiens qui l'avaient précédé.

<sup>2</sup>8 juillet.

<sup>3</sup>"Aux citoyens de la ville et district de Montréal", document donné par McLachlan "Fleury Mesplet", appendice C, document No 4, 236. Cette monographie se complète par une collection de documents relatifs à Fleury Mesplet. Ces documents forment les appendices A, B, C, D, E, F et G. Source citée à l'avenir sous l'abréviation M.S.R.C. (1906).

<sup>4</sup>19 août.

<sup>5</sup>*Gazette littéraire*, 19 août, 21 octobre, 21 et 28 avril, 5 mai; lettre de Fleury Mesplet au gouverneur Hadimand, le 4 janvier 1779, M.S.R.C. (1906), appendice C, document No 11, 240.

Un autre émigré français fut le principal collaborateur de la *Gazette littéraire*. Valentin Jautard, que quelques historiens accusent d'avoir été le mauvais ange de l'imprimeur persécuté,<sup>6</sup> avait la démangeaison d'écrire. Il signa sous le pseudonyme de *Spectateur tranquille*—mais on peut supposer qu'il utilisa d'autres noms de plume—de nombreux articles consacrés à la critique littéraire et à des questions d'actualité.<sup>7</sup> *Spectateur tranquille* n'était pas dépourvu de talent. Digne fils du Siècle des Lumières, il se donna la mission de sortir les Canadiens de leur ignorance. "A la vérité, écrivait-il, il est des moments où je suis pénétré d'indignation, quand je considère l'ignorance de la jeunesse canadienne occasionnée par sa propre faute, que la peine que je ressens influe sur mon style et le rend plus dur."<sup>8</sup> Il ne fut pas le dernier émigré à se découvrir la vocation d'éclairer les Canadiens. Mesplet ne se méfia peut-être pas suffisamment des projets ambitieux de celui que M. Séraphin Marion appelle son "rédacteur en chef".<sup>9</sup>

Il serait, toutefois, injuste de rendre ce frondeur spirituel et ce censeur impitoyable seul responsable des événements qui conduisirent l'imprimeur montréalais et son ami dans les cachots du gouverneur Haldimand.<sup>10</sup> Fleury Mesplet avait une haute conception de sa profession d'imprimeur et d'éditeur: l'oeuvre qu'il a laissée le prouve. Il en connaissait tous les dangers à une époque où les gouvernements se méfiaient de tous ceux qui influençaient l'opinion publique. "J'ai l'honneur de vous dire, déclarait-il à un correspondant qui s'était proclamé un admirateur enthousiaste de Voltaire,<sup>11</sup> que je ne suis pas assez . . . bête pour ne pas me méfier des pièges qu'on aurait envie de me tendre."<sup>12</sup> Dans un pays qui avait toujours vécu en régime autocratique et surtout à un moment où plus que jamais toute vérité n'était pas bonne à dire, il savait les risques qu'il prenait en tentant de fonder une presse libre.

Le malheureux et audacieux Mesplet se doutait bien que la tâche ne serait pas facile. Familier avec le milieu canadien de cette époque, il procéda d'abord prudemment, prenant la résolution de ne pas faire

<sup>6</sup> Alfred Leroy Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec* (Toronto, 1933), 293; Fauteux, "Fleury Mesplet", 171—172; Séraphin Marion, *Lettres canadiennes d'autrefois* (4 vol; Ottawa, 1939—1944), II, 14—15; McLachlan, "Fleury Mesplet", 208; Marcel Trudel, *L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada* (2 vol., Montréal, 1945), I, 99.

<sup>7</sup> Au sujet des préoccupations et des goûts littéraires des collaborateurs de la *Gazette de Montréal*, voir le deuxième volume des intéressantes études de M. Marion consacrées aux *Lettres canadiennes d'autrefois*. Tout le volume se rapporte à la *Gazette littéraire*.

<sup>8</sup> 22 juillet.

<sup>9</sup> *Lettres canadiennes*, II, 14. Sur Valentin Jautard, voir de E.-Z. Massicotte une notice dans le *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, XXX (1824), 44, et un article, "L'ultime aventure du journaliste Jautard", *ibid.*, XLVIII (1941), 328—330.

<sup>10</sup> Arrêtés le 4 juin 1779, Mesplet et Jautard restèrent en prison plus de trois ans. Il semble que le premier s'est évadé, peut-être avec la connivence des autorités, le 1er septembre 1782, McLachlan, "Fleury Mesplet", 213. Quant à Jautard, moins heureux, il serait demeuré prisonnier jusqu'au début de 1783, voir une lettre de Valentin Jautard au général Haldimand, le 8 février 1783, dans laquelle il remercie le gouverneur d'avoir été libéré et promet de se bien conduire à l'avenir, A.P.C. série B, vol. 75—1, p. 6, dans *Rapport des archives canadiennes* de 1886 (R.A.P.C.), 588.

<sup>11</sup> 14 octobre.

<sup>12</sup> Réponse de l'imprimeur à *L'Homme sans préjugé*, 21 octobre.

“mention de la religion, du gouvernement ou de nouvelles touchant les affaires présentes”.<sup>13</sup> L'imprimeur, afin de rassurer les esprits soupçonneux, affirmera à plusieurs reprises son désir de “n'insérer rien contre la religion, les moeurs, l'État ou le gouvernement”,<sup>14</sup> de ne publier “que ce qui me paraîtra décent et digne du public”.<sup>15</sup> Cependant, il n'ignore pas qu'il n'est pas facile de contenter tout le monde. Ayant obtenu du gouverneur Haldimand la permission de demeurer au pays et de continuer la publication de son journal,<sup>16</sup> il se déclare prêt à prouver à celui-ci sa reconnaissance, mais il ajoute: “Je ne pourrai peut-être pas remplir ce devoir autant que je désire, mais je ferai tout ce qui sera en mon pouvoir pour le convaincre que je ne suis pas indigne de ce bienfait”.<sup>17</sup>

Un journal dont les rédacteurs vivent à une époque troublée et pensent avoir des idées dignes d'être communiquées ne peut pas demeurer indéfiniment neutre et incolore. Les fondateurs et les collaborateurs de la *Gazette littéraire* se montrèrent aussi prudents et réservés qu'ils le pouvaient. C'est ainsi, par exemple, qu'ils ne firent jamais mention de la Révolution américaine. Pas même une allusion vague. Celui qui dépouille les pages jaunies de cet hebdomadaire au format modeste ne se doute pas qu'il parut au moment même où se déroulaient une guerre et une révolution qui ont donné à notre monde contemporain une orientation nouvelle. Mesplet et Jautard avaient déjà collaboré avec les rebelles américains, d'où leur obligation de se montrer doublement prudents sur ce point. Cependant, ils ne se jugèrent pas forcés d'approuver tout ce qui se passait dans la colonie et de fermer les yeux sur ce qu'ils croyaient être des abus de pouvoir.

L'éducation fut la première cible des correspondants de la *Gazette*. Plusieurs d'entre eux s'accordèrent pour reconnaître que les Canadiens manquaient d'instruction. Un certain *Lui seul* qui rappelle au *Spectateur tranquille* que celui-ci s'attire des ennemis en donnant des “marques de mépris pour la nation” admet l'existence “d'une ignorance crasse et en même temps d'une présomption intolérable” chez un correspondant indigné qui avait pris la défense de l'ordre établi.<sup>18</sup> Aux élèves du Collège de Montréal qui ont collaboré au journal, Valentin Jautard conseille de rentrer “dans votre collège, apprenez-y, s'il est possible, à penser et à écrire; mais je crains que vous ne parveniez à aucun des deux: vous apprendrez quelques mots latins et vous croirez tout savoir; et moi je vous dis que vous ne saurez jamais rien, parce qu'on n'est pas censé savoir quand on fait un mauvais usage de la science”.<sup>20</sup> Un autre rédacteur reproche aux collégiens de faire trop de

<sup>13</sup>Prospectus “Aux citoyens de la ville et district de Montréal”, M.S.R.C. (1906), appendice C, document No 4, 237.

<sup>14</sup>18 novembre.

<sup>15</sup>3 mars.

<sup>16</sup>Le journal ne parut pas le 26 août, car ordre avait été donné d'expulser Mesplet et Jautard de la colonie, voir M.S.R.C. (1906), appendice C, documents Nos 5, 6, 7 et 8, 237—239.

<sup>17</sup>2 septembre.

<sup>18</sup>A.P.C. série B, pp. 69, 70, 114 et 117, dans R.A.P.C. (1888), 980 et 982; Fauteux, “Fleury Mesplet”, 166—168; Morin, *Fleury Mesplet*, 14—14 Marcel Trudel, *Louis XVI, le Congrès américain et le Canada* (Québec, 1949), 65, note (53).

<sup>19</sup>22 juillet.

<sup>20</sup>23 septembre.



fautes d'orthographe et en profite pour les "prier de vous attacher principalement à votre langue".<sup>21</sup> Jusqu'à la mystérieuse Académie de Montréal qui prend part au débat.<sup>22</sup> Son président dénonce "l'ignorance" et la "présomption" des écoliers du Collège de Montréal. "J'ose dire même, Messieurs, déclare cet éminent personnage dans un discours officiel, que notre société fait ombrage, parce qu'elle ouvre le sentier des sciences, (jusqu'à présent inconnu dans ce pays). L'ignorance de chaque individu et de tous était la colonne des politiques."<sup>23</sup>

On ne tarda pas à dénoncer ceux que l'on tenait responsables de l'ignorance des Canadiens. *Le Sincère* fit remarquer que "si la jeunesse canadienne est ignorante, elle ne l'est pas du moins par sa propre faute, comme il [le *Spectateur tranquille*] le laisse entendre".<sup>24</sup> L'Académie de Montréal soutint ouvertement que les jeunes gens de cette ville recevaient une "mauvaise éducation".<sup>25</sup> *Sincère* et *Canadien curieux* affirmèrent avec assurance que "l'ignorance qu'elle [la nation anglaise] nous a reprochée jusqu'ici ne provient pas de la grossièreté de notre entendement, mais du défaut d'éducation que nous n'avons pu nous procurer jusqu'à ce moment".<sup>26</sup> *Spectateur tranquille* soupçonnait même l'existence d'une conspiration pour tenir les Canadiens dans l'ignorance: "Nous ne connaissons pas (ou peut-être ne voulons-nous pas connaître) d'où provient cette indigne politique qui tend à éterniser, pour ainsi dire, l'ignorance dans un pays où le génie national est aussi apte à acquérir des connaissances".<sup>27</sup>

Visait-on le clergé? Ses membres n'étaient pas injustifiés de le croire. La *Gazette littéraire* transpirait un anticléricalisme latent. Déjà, un long article signé *L'Homme* avait recommandé la lecture du *Traité des bénéfices* de Frao Paolo.<sup>28</sup> Il était connu que ce livre avait été l'une des sources principales de Voltaire.<sup>29</sup> Le président de l'Académie se moquait des "mouvements jaloux du petit corps scolastique de cette ville".<sup>30</sup> Ce qui n'empêcha pas les doctes académiciens de jurer que leur "dessein ne fut jamais de saper, ni même de porter ombrage à aucune religion".<sup>31</sup> *L'Ingénu* répondit à un correspondant qui l'avait mis en garde contre ceux qu'il appelait les "fanatiques":<sup>32</sup>

"Détrompez-vous, Monsieur, et convenez avec moi que la philosophie fait disparaître de jour en jour (même ici) cette espèce d'hommes que vous dites à craindre, quoiqu'elle ne soit rien moins que dangereuse; d'autant plus que nous sommes sous un gouvernement éclairé, dont le vaste et profond génie de chef répond à nos vœux, et nous assure ce que nous avons de plus précieux, la liberté de conscience."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>21</sup> 4 novembre.

<sup>22</sup> Au sujet de cette Académie dont on ne connaît pas les membres, voir Marion, *Lettres canadiennes*, II, 30—54.

<sup>23</sup> 11 novembre.

<sup>24</sup> 5 août.

<sup>25</sup> 11 novembre.

<sup>26</sup> Lettre adressée aux Honorables membres de l'Académie, 25 novembre.

<sup>27</sup> 30 décembre.

<sup>28</sup> 9 septembre.

<sup>29</sup> Trudel, *Influence de Voltaire*, I, 99.

<sup>30</sup> 11 novembre.

<sup>31</sup> 16 janvier.

<sup>32</sup> 19 mai.

<sup>33</sup> 26 mai, derniers mots soulignés dans le texte.

La campagne de l'hebdomadaire montréalais contre l'enseignement officiel souleva des protestations. Au début du mois de janvier 1779, le gouverneur Haldimand reçut une lettre de dénonciation. M. Etienne Montgolfier, vicaire général de toute la région montréalaise depuis 1751 et supérieur des Sulpiciens du Canada depuis 1759,<sup>34</sup> n'avait aucune raison particulière de faire confiance à la *Gazette littéraire* et à ses principaux rédacteurs. Il se rappelait que pendant l'occupation de la ville par l'armée américaine (1775—1776) on l'avait menacé d'expulsion.<sup>35</sup> Il n'avait pas pardonné à Jautard et à Mesplet d'avoir collaboré avec les rebelles. Sur ce point, il se montrait plus sévère que ne l'avaient été Carleton et Haldimand. Lorsque la *Gazette* et ses correspondants critiquèrent l'enseignement donné au Collège de Montréal, il se sentit personnellement attaqué. Les projets et les déclarations de la mystérieuse Académie de Montréal l'inquiétaient tout spécialement. Sa colère éclata quand l'Académie eut l'audace d'adresser au gouverneur une supplique dans laquelle elle déclarait que pour réaliser son programme "il ne manque, à notre entreprise, que l'approbation de Votre Excellence, pour la prospérité de laquelle, l'Académie ne cesse de faire des vœux".<sup>36</sup> Dans un long réquisitoire, M. Montgolfier accusa les membres de l' "académie naissante" dont les écrits "depuis longtemps infectent ce papier périodique" de n'avoir "point d'autre but que de corrompre l'esprit et le coeur des jeunes gens, en les retirant de la subordination et du respect qu'ils doivent à leurs maîtres". Il était évident pour lui que ces propagandistes avaient formé "le dessein . . . de jeter du trouble dans votre province, et de saper, s'il était possible, les fondements de toute religion, si nécessaire, même dans l'ordre purement politique, à la tranquillité des peuples, et à la conservation des Etats". Il concluait en demandant de "mettre fin à cette licence soit en interdisant entièrement cette gazette soit en nommant à l'imprimeur un censeur de confiance".<sup>37</sup>

Le supérieur de Saint-Sulpice dut attendre six semaines pour recevoir une réponse. Le gouverneur lui rappelait qu'il avait voulu faire arrêter Mesplet, mais qu'il n'avait pas sévi à la demande de plusieurs citoyens éminents de Montréal. L'imprimeur, ajoutait Son Excellence, avait reçu l'ordre de ne pas "attaquer la religion ou le clergé; de ne rien insérer dans sa feuille qui put choquer les bonnes moeurs, ou fomenter la discorde". Haldimand demanda à M. Montgolfier, dont il disait connaître le "zèle et l'attachement . . . pour ce même gouvernement", de "veiller de près aux publications de cet imprimeur et de m'avertir au plus tôt s'il lui arrive encore de s'écarter de la conduite qui lui a été prescrite de ma part".<sup>38</sup> Mesplet et Jautard auraient mieux fait de se tenir sur leurs gardes devant cette "union du Trône et de l'Autel".<sup>39</sup>

Nos paladins aimaient trop la poudre et les combats pour demeurer silencieux. Ils ne désespéraient pas se faire reconnaître le

<sup>34</sup>L. Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire général du Canada* (2 vol. Ottawa, 1931), II, 297,

<sup>35</sup>William Henry Atherton, *Montreal, 1535—1914* (3 vol. Montréal, 1914), II, 80.

<sup>36</sup>30 décembre.

<sup>37</sup>Montgolfier à Haldimand, le 2 janvier 1779, texte donné dans Marion, *Lettres canadiennes*, II, 57—58.

<sup>38</sup>Haldimand à Montgolfier, le 15 février 1779, *ibid.*, II, 58—59.

<sup>39</sup>Marion, *ibid.*, II, 59.

droit de critiquer et de censurer. Valentin Jautard demandait carrément, "n'est-il pas plus à propos d'instruire la société commune que de cacher les défauts de quelques particuliers? la publicité de leurs actions tend à les rendre plus exacts à remplir les devoirs de leur état, plus réservés et plus circonspects dans leur conduite dans les différents emplois et ceci tourne à l'avantage de cette même société."<sup>40</sup> Mesplet compléta ainsi la pensée du *Spectateur tranquille*. "Ci-devant l'obscurité assurait l'impunité, mais aujourd'hui les hommes de toute qualité seront plus réservés dans leur conduite, leurs actions seront "réglées suivant l'esprit social".<sup>41</sup> Jautard avait lancé précédemment un défi à ses adversaires en leur posant les deux questions suivantes: "Pouvez-vous m'empêcher d'écrire? M'ôtez-vous ce droit qui ne dépend de qui que ce soit et que tout individu peut s'arroger?"<sup>42</sup> Pouvait-on réclamer la liberté de la presse avec plus de conviction?

Une ardeur si belliqueuse en faveur de la liberté de parole pouvait mener loin. Depuis la conquête, l'administration de la justice au Canada laissait fort à désirer.<sup>43</sup> La *Gazette* critiqua quelques jugements rendus par les tribunaux.<sup>44</sup> Les magistrats ne prisèrent pas les articles où l'on mettait en doute leur sagesse et leur impartialité. Fleury Mesplet fut convoqué devant le juge Hertel de Rouville. Celui-ci lui exprima son mécontentement au sujet d'un article du journal.

L'imprimeur raconta cette entrevue et annonça à ses lecteurs qu'il avait pris de bonnes résolutions:

"Il ne sera écrit dans la feuille aucun paragraphe tentant à procurer l'instruction publique.

Aucune réflexion sur la conduite des personnes préposées par le gouvernement pour l'administration de la justice, leurs jugements fussent-ils même reconnus et prouvés avoir été rendus contre les lois, parce que ce ne sont point de nos affaires, et vous devez vous soumettre et ne considérer leurs décisions qu'avec les yeux de la foi.

Aucun ouvrage qui tentera à détruire ou même donner la moindre atteinte à leur *infaillibilité*.

Aucun écrit où il paraîtra que l'on tenterait à diminuer le despotisme civil qu'ils s'attribuent, vous devez le respecter.

Rien qui puisse obliger les individus de se renfermer dans les bornes du devoir, du pouvoir et de l'honnêteté."

L'éditeur montréalais ne manquait pas d'humour. Il était même cruel. Il concluait ainsi:

"Enfin, Messieurs les Auteurs, écrivez, mais n'écrivez rien qui puisse donner échec à mon bien-être, ayez soin de ne point démasquer les hommes tels qu'ils sont, ou du moins ornez-les de couleurs agréables. Cela vous coûtera peu, vous leur plairez, c'est tout ce qu'il en faut, et je ne serai plus chagriné. On n'ose vous attaquer, tout le fardeau tombe sur mes épaules; partagez le avec moi, ou ne m'exposez pas à le porter."<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> 12 mai.

<sup>41</sup> Réponse de l'imprimeur à *L'Ami des hommes* qui lui avait conseillé dans le numéro du 19 mai d'être plus réservé, 26 mai.

<sup>42</sup> 5 mai.

<sup>43</sup> Voir Burt, *Old Province*, 442—445.

<sup>44</sup> 14 et 21 avr., 12 et 26 mai.

<sup>45</sup> 21 avril.



Les réactions ne se firent pas attendre. Il est toujours dangereux pour un journaliste libre d'avoir plus d'esprit que ses adversaires. Le juge Rouville avait un vieux compte à régler avec Mesplet et Jautard. Il n'avait pas oublié que lors de l'invasion américaine ces deux émigrés avaient travaillé pour les rebelles. Le général Wooster, commandant des troupes du Congrès à Montréal, avait même nommé Valentin Jautard notaire public.<sup>46</sup> Hertel de Rouville, comme monsieur Montgolfier, se souvenait que le général ennemi, auquel l'imprimeur et l'avocat étaient alliés, avait voulu le bannir de la ville.<sup>47</sup> Tous ces faits lui revinrent à la mémoire et s'ajoutèrent aux incidents plus récents. Le 20 mai, l'avocat Jautard apprend en pleine salle d'audience que les juges se proposent de lui interdire l'accès de la cour où il représente un client. L'un des magistrats indignés lui déclare qu'il est suspect au gouvernement. Ne se cachant plus derrière l'anonymat, le "suspect" décrit l'incident aux lecteurs de la *Gazette* et leur promet de continuer la lutte engagée. "Je dirai vrai; je déchirerai, ou du moins ferai-je tous mes efforts, affirme-t-il, pour déchirer le voile épais qui couvre les injustices, les prévarications, etc."<sup>48</sup>

Jautard et Mesplet avaient dépassé les bornes. Le juge Rouville s'empressa de mettre le gouverneur au courant de toute l'affaire.<sup>49</sup> Le sort des deux bouillants journalistes fut fixé rapidement. Ils avaient naïvement cru pouvoir se concilier l'autorité supérieure en faisant assaut de loyalisme envers le gouvernement local et celui de la métropole.<sup>50</sup> Ce loyalisme de commande, si généralisé à cette époque, leur avait probablement valu quelques semaines de répit. Cette fois-ci, Haldimand se montra sans pitié. Le 1er juin, il ordonnait leur incarcération sans porter contre eux d'accusations précises.<sup>51</sup>

L'imprimerie a provoqué dans tous les pays où elle fut introduite une véritable révolution. Critiquer l'enseignement officiel et ceux qui le dispensaient, réclamer, au nom du bien général de la société, la liberté de parole, s'attaquer à l'administration de la justice, tel fut le programme vraiment révolutionnaire de la *Gazette littéraire* de Montréal. Rappelons-nous que le Canada de 1779 n'avait jamais connu la liberté de la presse. Ses classes dirigeantes ignoraient ce qu'on appelle, en régime démocratique, l'opinion publique. Habités à n'être jamais censurés publiquement, ceux qui exerçaient l'autorité, à tous les échelons, ne pouvaient tolérer la moindre critique. Quant au conquérant anglais, — même s'il se croyait et se disait, surtout, très libéral — engagé dans une lutte pour la survivance de son empire, il n'avait aucun intérêt à enseigner aux Canadiens l'exercice de la liberté.

<sup>46</sup>A.P.C., série B, vol. 185—1, p. 70, dans R.A.P.C. (1888), 980.

<sup>47</sup>Atherton, *Montreal*, II, 80.

<sup>48</sup>Article intitulé "Aux honnêtes citoyens" et signé Valentin Jautard, avocat, 26 mai.

<sup>49</sup>Hertel de Rouville au gouverneur Haldimand, le 27 mai 1779, et autres documents incriminant Mesplet et Jautard, A.P.C., série B, vol. 205, pp. 19 à 45, dans R.A.P.C. (1888), vol. III du *Précis de la collection Haldimand*, 43.

<sup>50</sup>Voir les numéros des 22 et 29 juillet, 12 et 19 août, 2 septembre, 30 décembre et 26 mai. *Spectateur tranquille* avait même pondus deux mauvais et plats poèmes de louanges en l'honneur du gouverneur Haldimand, 12 août, 2 septembre et 30 décembre. Dans l'édition du 26 mai, il y avait un article de Jautard approuvant avec enthousiasme la politique de contrôle des prix annoncée par le gouvernement colonial.

<sup>51</sup>M.S.R.C. (1906), appendice C, documents Nos 15, 16, 17, 18 et 19, 243—245.

Ceux-ci en auraient peut-être profité pour se tourner contre son régime autocratique. Comme le remarquera Valentin Jautard, lorsqu'il sera en prison, "le temps où j'ai été arrêté était le plus critique, qu'alors tout faisait ombrage, que toute voix paraissait fermée et l'était réellement puisque depuis ce temps je n'ai pu savoir la cause de mon emprisonnement, qu'enfin il fallait subir le joug qui était imposé sans oser demander pourquoi.<sup>52</sup>

Si Fleury Mesplet avait écouté les appels à la prudence de quelques-uns de ses correspondants,<sup>53</sup> s'il était demeuré fidèle aux bonnes résolutions qu'il prenait de temps à autre, son journal aurait certainement eu une plus longue existence. Son "papier périodique" aurait-il été aussi intéressant, aussi vivant? Il est permis d'en douter. Celui qui veut connaître l'histoire de nos idées politiques ne peut pas passer sous silence la contribution originale de la *Gazette littéraire* de Montréal. Ce modeste hebdomadaire a vaillamment lutté pour la liberté de la presse au Canada. C'est une cause qui, ici comme ailleurs, a eu ses pionniers et ses martyrs. C'est aussi une lutte que chaque génération de Canadiens doit continuer si nous voulons conserver et perfectionner nos institutions démocratiques.

<sup>52</sup>Valentin Jautard à l'honorable François Baby, auquel il demandait d'intervenir en sa faveur auprès du gouverneur, le 2 novembre 1782, Collection Baby, Université de Montréal.

<sup>53</sup>Voir lettres de *l'Ami des hommes* et de *Sincère moderne* à l'imprimeur, 19 et 26 mai.

# MANITOBA SCHOOLS AND CANADIAN NATIONALITY 1890-1923

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## I.

PRIOR TO the entry of the Red River Colony into the Canadian federation, the population and schools of the colony had been English and French, Protestant and Catholic. The duality of nationality and education was given formal recognition in the Manitoba Act in 1870 which granted official status to the French and English languages and to denominational schools. In the course of time, however, the duality of language and education was challenged by the growth of a British-Ontario majority and by the immigration of people who were neither English nor French; and during the period with which this paper is concerned the principle of duality was abandoned.<sup>1</sup> This process was finally completed by the enactment of the School Act of 1916 which established English as the sole official language and created a secular public school system.<sup>2</sup>

## II.

The precarious balance of English and Protestant, French and Catholic, elements in the West rested, not only on the constitutional safeguards of the British North America Act 1867 and the Manitoba Act 1870, but also upon the numerical equality of the two groups. This equality, however, soon disappeared in the face of the comparatively large and rapid inflow of settlers from Ontario and the British Isles. "Le nombre va nous faire défaut" wrote Taché sadly, "et comme sous notre système constitutionnel les nombres sont la force, nous allons nous trouver à la merci de ceux qui ne nous aiment pas"<sup>3</sup> The Roman Catholic clergy fought to preserve the language and culture of Old Quebec in the West, and with aid from Quebec and from France, they encouraged the foundation of compact French-speaking parishes both in Manitoba and the North West Territories.

It was, however, a losing battle, and in 1890 the defences of French culture were breached when Manitoba became a province of municipalities rather than a province of parishes.<sup>4</sup> The agents of commercial civilization, the railway and the grain trade, had swept away

<sup>1</sup>See Noël Bernier, *Fannystelle (Publié sous les auspices de la Société Historique de Saint-Boniface, Manitoba, n.d. [1939])* p. 162.

<sup>2</sup>See Pamphlets, Hon. R. S. Thornton, *Bi-Lingual Schools: An Address in the Legislature on January 12th, 1916.* (Department of Education Winnipeg, 1916) p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>Dom Benoit, *Vie de Monseigneur Taché*, (Montreal, 1904) II, 195-196. Taché wrote to Sir George Cartier in 1869, "J'ai toujours redouté l'entree du Nord-Ouest dans la Confédération parce que j'ai toujours cru que l'élément français catholique serait sacrifié . . ." *Ibid.*, II, 17.

<sup>4</sup>See C. B. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters*, (Toronto, 1947) II, 270.



the old order. In that year the legislature of Manitoba, controlled by the Liberal party under Premier Thomas Greenway, abolished both the official use of the French language in the province and the dual system of separate denominational schools.

For these drastic acts, carried out after nineteen years of comparative satisfaction with the separate school system and two official languages,<sup>5</sup> there were, in the main, two particular and two general causes. The anti-Catholic agitation which D'Alton McCarthy led in Ontario, in reaction against the Jesuits Estates Act of 1888 and inspired by the fear of *political Catholicism*, was carried to Manitoba in August of 1889. There it awakened a sympathetic response in the new English and Protestant settlements west of the Red River Valley. The agitation neatly coincided with the political embarrassment of the provincial Liberal party, which after the agitation against the railway "monopoly" of the Canadian Pacific Railway, had failed to procure a lowering of freight rates in a contract with the Northern Pacific Railway. To divert attention from their failure, the Liberals had already determined to take up the amendment of the separate school system. "Fighting Joe" Martin's famous outburst on the platform with McCarthy at Portage la Prairie committed the Government to going much farther along the same road, to establish a system of secular public schools and to abolish the official use of the French language.<sup>6</sup>

These two particular causes brought into play two general causes which had been shaping beneath the surface of politics as the settlement of the West proceeded. One was the difficulty and cost of organizing and maintaining municipal and educational institutions on the frontier at the speed competitive settlement required. The burden of local taxes for local improvements and schools was heavy on settlers engaged in making farms in new territory.<sup>7</sup> The dual system of schools threatened to increase this burden—threatened rather than did, because, as the English and French settlers in Manitoba were segregated, few school districts had in fact to provide separate schools.<sup>8</sup> Related to the question of cost and also related to the question of duality, was the growing feeling that a country of heterogeneous population, as Manitoba had become with the formation of Mennonite and Icelandic colonies within its borders, should develop a uniform

<sup>5</sup>While there was an outburst in 1875 following the first Ontario immigration after 1870, against the school system and the official use of French, there was in fact little public criticism of either until the late summer of 1889. The point is exhaustively established by A. E. Clague in "The Manitoba School Question, 1890-1896". (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1939) chaps. I-III.

<sup>6</sup>P.A.M., Greenway Papers, Joseph Martin to Thomas Greenway, August 6, 1889; also J. S. Willison, *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party*, (Toronto, 1903) II, 202.

<sup>7</sup>This point is too easily lost sight of in the controversy over principles. See John S. Ewart, *The Manitoba School Question*, (Toronto, 1894) 246-247; also *Canada, House of Commons Debates*, 1897, I, 371-374. The later phases of the school question in Manitoba and the events leading to the formation of the United Church of Canada enforce the point.

<sup>8</sup>Ewart, *Manitoba School Question*, 63; address before Governor-General in Council, Jan. 21, 1893.

nationality through the agency of a "national" school system.<sup>9</sup> It was this immigration, neither English nor French, and either Protestant or Catholic, which began to complicate the working of the principle of duality in Manitoba. It was used, by those who questioned the principle itself and feared the political power of the Catholic Church, to justify the abolition of the dual system of education and the denial of the concept of dual nationality.

With the events of the litigation and political controversy caused by the school question from 1890 to 1896 this paper need not be concerned. Suffice it to say that the result was the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1896, which was enacted by the Manitoba Legislature in 1897 as an amendment to the School Act of 1890. By the amendment religious teaching, in defined circumstances, was permitted in the public schools from 3:30 to 4 p.m., with a conscience clause which permitted parents to have their children excused from such teaching. The amendment also provided that when ten or more pupils spoke French (or any language other than English) instruction should be "in French (or such other language) and English upon the bi-lingual system". The bi-lingual clause was not directed to circumstances in Manitoba, where the new immigration was just beginning, but to political circumstances in Ontario and Quebec. The concession of teaching in French was designed to please Quebec, the concession of teaching in a language other than French was designed to prevent criticism in Ontario of a grant of equality to the French language alone.<sup>10</sup> It is also to be noted that the amendment of 1897 did nothing to repair the omission from the Act of 1890 of any clause providing for compulsory attendance.<sup>11</sup> The public school system of Manitoba

<sup>9</sup>P.A.M., *Manitoba School Case* (clippings from contemporary press) 1, 90. Resolution of Grand Lodge (Orange) of Western Ontario; "... separate schools ... perpetuate an improper union between church and state; ... they do not teach that the duty of every good citizen is to give his first loyalty to the nation in which he lives ..."; *Gladstone Age*, Apr. 17, 1895, J. W. Armstrong at public meeting on school question: "Where we have so many different nationalities, it is necessary to have some time to bind them together and blend all their characteristics in one common nationality"; *Winnipeg Tribune*, (clipping) 1895, "Is Manitoba Right?": "If public education has been found necessary in a country like Britain, the necessity is greatly emphasized in a new community like Manitoba, with its heterogeneous and polyglot population, and the great diversity of intelligence and ideas which characterizes its yet unassimilated elements."

For a direct challenge to the principle of duality, see F. C. Wade, *The Manitoba School Question*, (Winnipeg, 1895) 51; "It cannot be conducive to our national welfare to bring up the two great sections of our population apart from each other." The view of John S. Ewart and James Fisher, that a school system at once "national" and "separate" was possible, commanded little sympathy on either side of the controversy.

<sup>10</sup>P.A.M., *Manitoba Debates*, (F.P.) 1916, 8; J. W. Daffoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times* (Toronto, 1931) 98.

<sup>11</sup>The explanation of the omission of clauses providing for enforcement of attendance given by Premier R. P. Roblin in the Legislature in 1914 and 1915 may be accepted. Roblin was an independent member of the Legislature in 1890, and the bill of 1890 as amended in committee is in the files of the Legislature of Manitoba, with the attendance section struck out and initialled "C.S.", just as Roblin described it in 1914 and 1915. (See P.A.M., *Manitoba Debates*, (F.P.) 1914, 28-30, and *Manitoba Debates* (Trib.), 1915, 72). Roblin said that Attorney-General Martin, who drew up the bill, had included clauses providing for attendance. On advice from D'Alton McCarthy, however, he had them struck out in committee. The chairman of that committee was Clifford Sifton. It was feared that compulsion would destroy the constitutional ground on which the bill was based, namely that the Catholics had a right to private and voluntary denominational schools, but not to separate schools supported by public funds. To compel the children of Catholic parents to attend the public schools would violate this right.



in 1897 was one in which, because of the right of Catholics to separate private schools, attendance was voluntary.

### III.

The passage of the Compromise of 1897 was followed in 1899 by the defeat of the Liberal Party in the provincial election of that year, a defeat in which the Compromise played some part. The accession to power of the Conservative party did not lead to the repeal or amendment of the Compromise. However the administration of the school law now lay with men who were not wholly sympathetic with its terms.<sup>12</sup> The Roblin Government maintained the "national school" system intact in principle and fact, yet in its administration made all possible concessions to the French and Catholics. In rural French parishes the results were satisfactory to the French; only in Winnipeg and St. Boniface did Catholics suffer actual hardship from the operation of the School Act.

Grave and growing difficulties, however, were encountered in the administration of the public school system in the newly settled districts along the northern and eastern frontiers of Manitoba. These were the years of the great immigration into the West, a great part of which came from east central Europe. In 1897 the three language groups of Manitoba were English, French and German; a fourth, the Icelandic, accepted public education in English while maintaining the mother tongue in the home and Icelandic press. By 1911, many other groups had been added, of which two, the Polish and the Ukrainian, were devoted to the maintenance of their native languages.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, of these groups the Poles and many of the Germans were Roman Catholics and to them the ministrations of the Church, led by Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface, were naturally extended. The Ukrainians were mainly Greek Catholics. They had come without their native clergy and they therefore invited evangelisation by both the Protestant churches and the Church of Rome.

The great immigration, and the still active resentment of the Catholic clergy and of the lay leaders of the Manitoban French towards the school law, led to an increased emphasis on the bi-lingual provision of the school law. They also perpetuated the denominational hostility which had done so much to provoke the School Act of 1890. The French of course insisted on their right to instruction in the mother tongue; the Germans, both the Old Colony Mennonites and newcomers did so too; the Poles and Ukrainians soon learned, from the politicians not least, to do the same. The result was to

<sup>12</sup>The provincial premier after 1900, R. P. Roblin, had opposed both the School Act of 1890 and the amendment of 1897; the Conservative platform of 1899 had called for the freeing of the school systems "from party politics by the establishment of an independent board of education"; P.A.M., Pamphlets, *Record of the Roblin Government, 1900-1909*, 5.

<sup>13</sup>The composition of the population of Manitoba in 1911 was as follows: British, 266,415; French, 30,944; German, 34,530; Austro-Hungarian, 39,665; Polish, 12,310; Scandinavian, 16,419; and smaller groups, to a total of 55,311; *Canada Year Book 1912*, 24.



demonstrate that, under the new conditions, the bi-lingual system of 1897 was unworkable.<sup>14</sup>

As if these difficulties were not sufficiently harmful, there was also the lack of a school-attendance law. The lack had engaged the attention of the Roblin Government in 1900. It then and later, on legal advice, accepted the view that a compulsory attendance law would violate the constitutional rights of Catholics to separate private schools and re-open the school question. Accordingly, the administration decided to achieve its object by way of police legislation, rather than by altering the school law. In 1909 it amended the Children's Act.<sup>15</sup> The defects of this legislation were that delinquency had to be proved before children could be compelled to attend school. When the Act was tightened in 1914, however, and the Department of Education directed enforcement through its own truancy officers, the average school attendance in the Province began to rise. The advantages of central administration overcame the defects of the law.

Because of these difficulties and deficiencies, the school administration of the Roblin Government came under ever sharpening criticism, and the Liberal opposition made the most of the Government's embarrassment. The criticism from English Protestants was intensified by the passage of the ambiguous Coldwell amendments of 1912. These amendments, which seemed to permit the separation of Protestant and Catholic children in the larger schools, had coincided with the extension of Manitoba's boundaries, and with them of the jurisdiction of the School Act. Whatever the meaning of the amendments, they aroused strong resentment among the Orangemen of Manitoba.<sup>16</sup> The provincial Liberals, who had campaigned for reform of the school system in 1910, in 1914 included in their platform pledges to maintain unimpaired the national school system of 1897. They proposed to provide educational facilities for all children in the Province and to make adequate teaching of English obligatory in all public schools. In a carefully drawn plank the party undertook "to provide for a measure of compulsory education, which, while respecting the personal rights and religious convictions of the individual, shall make it obligatory on parents and guardians of all children that such children shall receive a proper elementary education, *either by attendance at the public schools, or by such substitute within the choice of*

<sup>14</sup>For an informed contemporary description of the operation of the bi-lingual section, see C. B. Sissons, *Bi-lingual Schools in Canada* (Toronto, 1917) pp. 116-155. See also R. Fletcher, "The Language Problem in Manitoba Schools," *papers read before Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba* III (6) (Winnipeg, 1851) 55-56. Dr. Fletcher was a member of the Department of Education from 1903, and Deputy-Minister of Education, 1908-1939.

<sup>15</sup>This account is based on the defence of the government policy by Premier Roblin and the Minister of Education, Hon. George Coldwell, in moving amendments of the Truancy Act in 1914; P.A.M., *Manitoba Debates*, 1915 (T.) 72.

<sup>16</sup>*Canada, H. of C. Debates*, 1911-12, III, 4839-4925 and 4934-4973. No direct connection between the boundary extension of 1912 and the amendments has, to the writer's knowledge, ever been established. But that the amendments were a fumbling attempt to conciliate Catholic feeling without arousing Protestant resentment seems probable; see A. G. Morice, *Vie de Monseigneur Langevin*, pp. 284-285. In further confirmation of this assumption, it is of interest to know that the amendments were drafted outside the Province of Manitoba.

*the parents as shall attain this end.*" The party also pledged itself to increase the provincial grants to rural schools, and repeal the Coldwell amendments. They thus undertook to make the system of 1897 work, and at the same time they hoped to evade the constitutional difficulty with respect to compulsory attendance by allowing parents a substitute acceptable to the Department of Education.<sup>17</sup> The religious rights of Catholic parents were to be respected; but there was no suggestion of compromise on the principle of duality.

#### IV.

The Liberal party failed to win the election of 1914, but came to power in 1915 when the Roblin Government fell for reasons unconnected with the administration of education. The new government of Premier T. C. Norris was emphatically a reform administration and in the Minister of Education, Dr. R. S. Thornton, possessed an administrator of clear purpose and unflinching will. A school-attendance act, correcting the existing anomalous situation, was carried through the legislature in the session of 1916 without opposition.<sup>18</sup> The bill to repeal the bi-lingual section, No. 258, of the Public School Act, however, provoked bitter opposition from the French-speaking members, and the only Ukrainian member, of the Legislature. It was, in fact, the only measure introduced by the government during the session which led to a division in the legislature. The bitterness expressed by the French members was natural enough. The Liberal Party, in its platform of 1914 and during the election campaigns had committed itself only to the enforcement of adequate instruction in English thereby implying the retention of the principle of the bi-lingual system and the use of administrative methods to improve English language teaching. Now the party proposed to do away with the whole principle of bi-lingual instruction.

In moving the deletion of the bi-lingual clause from the School Act the Minister of Education explained that until the autumn of 1915, he had hoped to achieve the purpose of the government, that is, to enforce adequate instruction in English, by administrative means. That hope had been defeated by the mandatory character of the legislation of 1897, the conditions revealed by a special report on the bi-lingual schools, and by an increase in the petitions for bi-lingual teaching. The problem had ceased to be, as in 1897, a peripheral one; one quarter of the schools with one sixth of the enrolment were bi-lingual in 1915. The Deputy-Minister, Robert Fletcher, had reported that the situation was nearly out of hand. In short, it had been proved to the Minister's satisfaction that adequate instruction in English could be provided only by making English the sole language of instruction.<sup>19</sup>

Over and above these administrative considerations, it is to be noted, there were the mounting racial sentiment of the war years and the effect of the powerful and sustained campaign by the *Manitoba*

<sup>17</sup>P.A.M., Pamphlets, *Liberal Platform of 1914*. (Saint-Boniface, 1919). The legal thought behind the substitute clause was later expounded by Attorney-General A. B. Hudson, subsequently a member of the Supreme Court of Canada, P.A.M., *Manitoba Debates*, (F.P.) 1916, 28.

<sup>18</sup>Much of the benefit of this act was, however, lost by placing its administration in the hands of local officials.

<sup>19</sup>P.A.M., *Manitoba Debates*, (F.P.) 1916, 5-7.



*Free Press* against the bi-lingual system. And it is to be remembered that the dispute in Ontario over Regulation 17 was at its height, that Bourassa had forced Laurier to take up the cause of Nationalism in Quebec, and that the conscription issue was looming.

The Minister convinced his colleagues of the need for legislation but to convince the caucus of his party was more difficult. The meeting which considered the proposed change of policy lasted until the small hours. Influential leaders sought to preserve for the French language a status similar to that which it possessed in Saskatchewan. It was reported that the French members refused to accept the concession of instruction in French as well as English, but demanded the re-establishment of separate schools as of 1889. Compromise was impossible, and Thornton's proposal was adopted.<sup>20</sup> The two French Liberal members, P. A. Talbot and J. P. Dumas, then broke with the Liberal party.

The grounds of opposition were manifest and were debated at length in the Legislature. The French members of the Legislature, both Liberal and Conservative, declared that the rights of the French had been betrayed by the Liberal party. That party had pledged itself to maintain the compromise of 1897. In office it spurned its public and unequivocal undertakings. The Premier himself, it was charged, had given pledges, both in writing and in speech, that the rights of the French would be respected. The charges were met fairly by Norris and Thornton, but the bitter sense of betrayal felt by the French members drove them on to assert the whole claim of their people, their historical, moral and constitutional right to have denominational schools and to have equality of the French language with English; to assert, in short, the principle of duality. "If any single member expects the English to assimilate the French in this Dominion," said Talbot, "I might give them the friendly advice to disabuse themselves [*sic.*]. The French are a distinctive race, and we will not be assimilated, whether you like it or not. The sooner you know it the better. We have been given our rights as a separate nationality and we will hold them."<sup>21</sup> The bill, the French members declared, was a violation of the "pact", or "treaty" of Confederation, which had recognized the equal and distinct status of the French in Canada. "The French and Catholic population of Manitoba," declared a protest prepared by a committee of the Manitoban French and tabled in the Legislature "have by natural law, by the title of first occupancy, by solemn treaties, by the B.N.A. Act, by the pact solemnly entered into by the Delegates of the Territory of Assiniboia and the North-West Territories with the Dominion of Canada, by the Manitoba Act and subsequent legislation, rights and privileges which have been violated by the Legislature of Manitoba."<sup>22</sup> To the embittered and bewildered French, the bill was "an attempt on our national life".<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup>The reports of this caucus are, as is usual, meagre. P.A.M., *Manitoba Debates*, (F.P.) 1916, pp. 44-45. The substance of the Reports is accepted here, because it is supported by the subsequent debates.

<sup>21</sup>P.A.M., *Manitoba Debates* (F.P.) 1916, 31. Talbot was reproached in the debate with being a "nationalist" and a "separatist", but denied that he was a Nationalist of Bourassa's school. He was, in fact, at that time a Laurier Liberal.

<sup>22</sup>*Canadian Annual Review*, 1916, 673.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 1921, 774.



The reply of the government was that the French language had no constitutional standing in Manitoba. The religious rights of Roman Catholics were not touched, were indeed not involved. Some members, and the local press, admitted the special status, on historical and moral grounds, of the French language. But there was no obligation, it was asserted, to respect that status, as the French had neither accepted the Compromise of 1897 nor an offer of special treatment.<sup>24</sup> By standing out for their whole claim, based on natural law and the constitution, and for the retention of the bi-lingual system of 1897, they had identified themselves with the other language groups, the Germans, Ukrainians and Poles and menaced the Legislature with the re-opening of the school question in its entirety. By their refusal to compromise, the French of Manitoba had brought down on their cause the fate preparing for the other non-English languages.<sup>25</sup> As J. D. Baskerville reminded the Legislature, "the battle at Babel had broken the contract".<sup>26</sup> The reply of the government and its supporters was made, not unsympathetically but very firmly; for the general conviction in the Legislature was that the operation of the bi-lingual clause had threatened the very foundations of Canadian nationality in Manitoba. It was imperative that the danger be removed, "if a common citizenship were to be built up in Canada".<sup>27</sup>

Immigration into the West had introduced a third element into the crucible, a third element which by 1916 had affected both the distinct and formed nationalities of 1870. Because the newcomers were assimilated to the English group, the influx reduced the French to a minority and led to the loss of the rights held by them from 1870 to 1890. It also affected the English group by the insistence of many of the immigrants both on assimilation to the English group in public life and on the retention of their mother tongue and culture in private life. In this trend the Icelandic and Scandinavian peoples led. Both the Icelandic members of the Legislature in 1916 supported the abolition of bi-lingual teaching and one of them, Hon. T. H. Johnson, declared: "We admit, and we all must admit, that there is only one nationality possible in the future, a Canadian nationality, and we claim the privilege of becoming merged in that, and the privilege of contributing towards that, whatever national characteristics we may possess."<sup>28</sup> While rejecting the principle of duality, Manitoba, out of the confusion created by the bi-lingual clause and the great immigration, was groping towards a combination of political uniformity with cultural plurality.

In the end the abolition of the bi-lingual system was carried by thirty-eight votes to eight. The opposition was made up of two dissident French Liberals, one Ukrainian member, and the Conservative Opposition of five, of whom two were French speaking. The decisive character of the vote settled the issue. Although opposition flared up briefly in 1917 when the Government proposed to make the

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 8, 46-47, 49-51, 53-55; also *Manitoba Debates*, (F.P.) 1920, p. 46, in which A. B. Hudson reviewed the controversy; "... it seemed to him what had been done was the only thing that could be done."

<sup>25</sup>*Winnipeg Free Press Library*, Dafoe Papers, J. W. Dafoe to Thomas Coté, Apr. 6, 1916.

<sup>26</sup>P.A.M., *Manitoba Debates*, (F.P.) 1916, p. 53.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 55.

University of Manitoba a state university, the year 1916 witnessed the end of political controversy over the school question in the province of Manitoba.

## V.

The legislation of 1916 was enforced with both firmness and tact<sup>29</sup>. But the Liberal party of Manitoba had to pay the penalty for its courage in grasping the nettle. In 1920 it lost its majority to candidates of the United Farmers and to opponents of the school legislation of 1916<sup>30</sup>. In 1922 its defeat was completed by the same forces. The fusion of the United Farmers with the opponents of the school legislation did not lead to any change in the school system. The Liberal leader might argue that the combination was a revenge for 1916, but Premier John Bracken made it clear that no one had ever suggested to him any change in the school system as the price of support.<sup>31</sup> Bracken's statement was never challenged in the debates. It seems clear that once the personalities of 1916 were removed from public office, the school question was a closed issue as far as the political parties of Manitoba were concerned.

<sup>29</sup>P.A.M., Pamphlets, *Addresses in the Legislature by Hon. R. S. Thornton* 1917 to 1919. (Dept. of Education, Winnipeg, 1917, 1918, 1919. See also P.A.M., *Manitoba Debates*, (F.P.) 1921 pp. 83-89; *Ibid.*, 1917, 9; *Ibid.*, 1920, 30. I am told on good authority that it was Dr. Thornton who coined the term, "New Canadian".

<sup>30</sup>Dafoe Papers, J. W. Dafoe to Clifford Sifton, Dec. 29, 1920; *Canadian Annual Review*, 1921, 739; *Manitoba Free Press*, Feb. 25, 1921, p. 13.

<sup>31</sup>The Farmers' Platform of 1922 merely called for stricter enforcement of attendance, but made no reference to language instruction.

# QUELQUES OBSERVATIONS SUR LE NATIONALISME DE HENRI BOURASSA

MARINE LELAND

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M. HENRI BOURASSA est aujourd'hui âgé de 82 ans, et il habite près d'ici. Il doit sembler étrange qu'à une réunion d'historiens où la coutume est de s'occuper surtout d'événements et de figures appartenant au passé, un professeur de littérature, et non d'histoire, ose entreprendre de parler d'un contemporain, devant un auditoire qui connaît parfaitement son oeuvre. Il ne saurait s'agir ici d'un essai biographique, et encore moins, d'un jugement quelconque. Je me bornerai, en m'aidant de ce que M. Bourassa a lui-même dit ou écrit, à quelques observations sur la genèse et sur le caractère de son nationalisme. Je m'arrêterai à certains moments de sa carrière qui illustrent la marche de sa pensée. Ce faisant, je poserai plus de questions que je ne fournirai de réponses.

Comme on le sait, Joseph Napoléon Henri Bourassa est né à Montréal, le 1<sup>er</sup> septembre 1868. Il est le cinquième et dernier enfant, tous remarquablement doués, de Napoléon Bourassa, "the gentlest of gentlemen", un artiste, un littérateur dont la biographie, lorsqu'on l'écrira, touchera à tous les aspects de l'activité intellectuelle de son époque, sauf la politique; et de Marie Azélie Papineau, fille de l'honorable Louis-Joseph Papineau et petite-fille de Joseph Papineau, député à la première Chambre d'Assemblée en 1792. Tant par la famille de son père que par celle sa mère, M. Bourassa est de vieille souche canadienne. Le premier Bourassa venu au Canada se maria dans le village de Contrecoeur en 1684. Le premier Papineau passait au Canada à la fin du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cette ascendance n'a rien que de normal dans la province de Québec. Dans le cas particulier de Henri Bourassa, elle aide à mieux comprendre, surtout pour des étrangers, non seulement le canadianisme intégral qui est l'essence même de sa pensée politique, mais aussi le calme olympien avec lequel il fit toujours face aux imputations à son patriotisme que se permirent, dans l'ardeur des luttes politiques, certains adversaires de langue française et anglaise.

A la séance du 13 mars 1900, M. Bourassa répondait de la façon suivante à certaines observations de M. Bergeron, député de Beauharnois, qui lui avaient été rapportées et d'après lesquelles M. Bergeron l'aurait accusé de "se laisser guider par des tendances héréditaires", (ce en quoi il n'avait pas tort!). Toujours d'après les paroles attribuées à M. Bergeron, Papineau avait violé la constitution et son petit-fils en ferait autant s'il en avait le pouvoir. "Lorsqu'il m'accuse, ripostait M. Bourassa, de me laisser guider par des tendances héréditaires, je me reconnais coupable du crime; et je saisis l'occasion qui m'est offerte — la première et la dernière — pour imposer à la Chambre le récit d'une courte page d'histoire de famille. Ces souvenirs peignent parfaitement, à mon avis, le développement des institutions britanniques dans le Canada français, et c'est ce qui me pousse à les évoquer."

Après avoir résumé en quelques lignes vibrantes et précises, la carrière des deux ancêtres qui l'avaient précédé au Parlement canadien,



il concluait: "C'est là l'histoire de ceux qui m'ont légué mon double sentiment de loyauté à la Couronne contre les assauts de l'extérieur, et de fidélité au peuple contre les abus de la Couronne ou des factions . . . Et ceux qui jouissent aujourd'hui de nos libres institutions politiques, et qui même en abusent, oublient qu'ils les doivent à ces hommes qu'ils traitent de traîtres et d'agitateurs sans principes".

Comme on le sait encore, l'éducation de M. Bourassa ne se fit pas selon la manière traditionnelle du Canada français, dans un collège. Sauf un court séjour à l'Ecole du Plateau, si je ne me trompe, et un autre chez les Jésuites à Worcester, Massachusetts, M. Bourassa, orphelin de mère dès sa première année, fut élevé au sein de sa famille à Montréal et à Montebello. Jusqu'à quel point son professeur privé, M. André, le poussa dans l'étude des classiques grecs, latins et français; à quel âge il se mit à la lecture d'ouvrages français et anglais ayant trait à l'histoire et à l'économie politique; quand et comment il commença à recueillir et à assimiler les vastes connaissances qui devaient parfois dérouter ses adversaires, sans toutefois les convaincre, et qui constituent précisément l'actualité de sa pensée en matière politique: autant de points obscurs que seul, sans doute, M. Bourassa pourrait élucider. La splendide bibliothèque de son grand-père, Louis-Joseph Papineau, dont la vente n'eut lieu qu'en 1922, joua sûrement un rôle important dans la formation intellectuelle de son petit-fils. Ce que nous révèlent les écrits de celui-ci c'est qu'il acquit une maîtrise remarquable des langues française et anglaise. Son style en français est clair, soigné et vigoureux. Détail intéressant, à l'encontre de la vaste majorité des écrivains canadiens de langue française qui ont reçu leur éducation dans un collège classique et chez qui on trouve, quel que soit le sujet qu'ils traitent, des allusions littéraires, comme cela se pratique en France, ce qui frappe chez M. Bourassa c'est l'absence totale de réminiscences classiques et l'abondance de citations françaises et anglaises tirées de l'histoire politique ou économique du Canada, de la France et de l'Angleterre.

Un fait important s'avère: l'influence de la pensée libérale anglaise du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle sur Henri Bourassa. Dans ce même discours du 13 mars 1900, que je citais plus haut, il déclarait ceci: "Je suis un libéral de l'école anglaise. Je suis un disciple de Burke, de Fox, de Bright, de Gladstone et des autres *Little Englanders* qui ont fait l'Angleterre ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui".

Loin d'être un "hater of all things British", Henri Bourassa fut et est resté un des grands admirateurs de l'Angleterre. A cet égard, il fait plus que suivre une tradition de famille. Il est dans la tradition canadienne-française. Dès 1792, les premiers parlementaires canadiens-français, proclamaient leur sincère admiration pour les institutions politiques britanniques et se révélaient très aptes à en saisir non seulement les rouages mais aussi l'esprit. A ce propos, je ne puis m'empêcher de citer la conclusion d'un article de Helen Taft Manning, doyenne de Bryn Mawr College, publié dans la *Canadian Historical Review* de mars 1943. "Paradoxically," écrivait Mrs Manning au sujet du parlement canadien dont la majorité était canadienne-française, "the chief interests of its proceedings to the historian of the British Empire, is that within so brief a period of apprenticeship, it had mastered so much of English Constitutional tradition."

A la base de la pensée politique de M. Bourassa on découvre donc l'influence de son ascendance coloniale française, la tradition des premiers parlementaires canadiens-français, et les idées qu'on associe avec les *Little Englanders*. Ce dernier terme évoque, pour le lecteur d'histoire canadienne, le nom de Goldwin Smith, le *Little Englander* par excellence, et par l'intermédiaire de celui-ci, le mouvement *Canada First*.

Goldwin Smith, incapable de s'adapter à son pays natal, l'Angleterre, émigra en Amérique où il passa le reste d'une longue vie à hésiter entre le Canada et les Etats-Unis. Dès son arrivée à Toronto en 1871, l'année même où William Alexander Foster publiait sa brochure, *Canada First; or our New Nationality*, Smith s'associa à ce mouvement. Doit-on percevoir, par l'intermédiaire du professeur Smith, une filiation entre le mouvement *Canada First*, d'origine ontarienne et la levée nationaliste, d'origine québécoise? Personnellement, j'hésiterais à le faire et surtout à en exagérer l'importance. Il est vrai que ces deux mouvements ont certaines idées en commun, telles que la résolution clairement exprimée, de part et d'autre, de placer l'intérêt du pays au-dessus des partis politiques. "Party vs Principles", écrivait W. A. Foster en 1871. "Tout sera jugé à la lumière des principes", écrivait Henri Bourassa dans le premier numéro du *Devoir*, le 10 janvier 1910. Ou encore cette autre résolution, non moins nettement exprimée dans le programme de la *Canadian National Association* et de son journal, *The Nation*, et dans celui de *La Ligue nationaliste* fondée en 1903: maintenir le lien britannique. Cette affirmation était publiée dans le premier numéro du *Nationaliste* d'Olivar Asselin, en 1904, et reproduite dans le premier numéro du *Devoir*, six ans plus tard.

Quant aux rapports personnels de Goldwyn Smith avec *La Ligue nationaliste*, il est bon de rappeler qu'en 1903, Bourassa traduisait et publiait une brochure de Goldwin Smith, *Devant la tribune de l'histoire*, brochure nettement anti-impérialiste et entachée, malheureusement, d'affirmations anti-sémites qui loin de soutenir l'argumentation de leur auteur, l'affaiblissait singulièrement. Enfin en 1904, dans le troisième numéro du *Nationaliste*, celui du 20 mars, paraissait une lettre du professeur Smith, écrite à Toronto le 12 mars, dans laquelle il disait, entre autres choses: "On ne doit pas s'attendre à ce que le Canadien-français se laisse dépouiller de la moindre parcelle de son autonomie ou sacrifie les fruits de son travail pour assurer la réalisation d'un rêve impérialiste. Les citoyens de ce pays sont venus ici pour gagner leur pain, et le pain de leurs familles et non pour aider, par leur travail, à des entreprises militaires où ils ne sont pas intéressés et qui ne peuvent rien leur rapporter". Il s'agit ici non seulement d'anti-impérialisme, d'anti-militarisme, mais des intérêts du *Canada d'abord*.

C'est en partie, mais non entièrement, le point de vue que devait exprimer Bourassa en novembre 1914, dans son discours: *The Duty of Canada at the Present Hour*. Après avoir déclaré qu'il était de l'intérêt du Canada d'aider la Grande-Bretagne dans sa lutte contre l'Allemagne, il ajoutait: "But if our contribution is to be effective . . . we must be clear-sighted in dealing with all problems . . . and they must be viewed primarily from the point of view of Canada's interests".



Sans rejeter entièrement la possibilité d'une filiation précise entre les 'Canada First' et les Nationalistes, j'aurais plutôt tendance à envisager ces mouvements comme deux manifestations distinctes du désir normal, surtout chez un peuple jeune, d'affirmer son identité nationale. Comme nous l'apprend l'histoire, et en particulier celle des "nouvelles civilisations" du continent américain, si, d'une part, le sentiment national, c'est-à-dire le sentiment du groupe, naît tôt dans une colonie, d'autre part, il se clarifie et il s'affirme lentement, forcé comme il l'est de surmonter une foule d'obstacles que lui suscite le conflit d'intérêts publics ou privés, sans compter la confusion de sentiments contradictoires, ce qu'on appelle en anglais "mixed loyalties", terme qui peut être, mais qui n'est pas nécessairement péjoratif puisqu'il sert parfois à décrire un attachement instinctif et sincère à deux patries, la nouvelle et l'ancienne, à deux causes, à deux personnes, dont il est difficile de concilier les intérêts. Au Canada, le sentiment d'individualité nationale s'exprime dès 1663 dans le petit livre au long titre de Pierre Boucher. "Longtemps avant le Traité de Paris, faisait remarquer en 1902 M. Bourassa à la suite de bien d'autres, les Canadiens avaient commencé de former un groupe distinct de la nationalité française". Et il concluait: "Soyons Français comme les Américains sont Anglais. Conservons et développons chez nous les instincts, les traditions et l'intellectualité que notre origine nous a légués. . . Mais nous devons concentrer notre allégeance politique et nos aspirations sur le sol du Canada . . . Ce n'est pas à titre de Français, mais à titre de Canadiens que nous ne voulons pas nous rapprocher de l'Angleterre et assumer des obligations nouvelles dans son empire". M. Bourassa profitait de l'occasion pour indiquer, non sans une pointe de sympathie, le caractère aléatoire du séparatisme. C'est un sujet sur lequel il devait revenir une vingtaine d'années plus tard avec beaucoup plus de force et aucune sympathie dans le discours qu'il prononça au Gesù en 1923 et qui s'intitule: *Patriotisme, Nationalisme, Impérialisme*.

Il est important de noter que quels que soient l'admiration et l'attachement personnel que porte M. Bourassa à la langue française, ce n'est ni à cause de cet attachement, ni à cause du prestige intellectuel et littéraire dont jouit la France qu'il a défendu les droits du français au Canada, mais bien parce que le français y a des droits constitutionnels et se trouve à être une des deux langues officielles. A l'encontre d'Olivar Asselin, qui fut avant tout, (et quelle qu'ait été son influence dans d'autres domaines), un grand amateur de littérature et de civilisation française, il ne serait jamais venu à la pensée de Bourassa d'invoquer le salut de la France comme argument pour l'enrôlement volontaire. Au contraire, il s'efforça de montrer le danger que présentait semblable attitude pour l'unité canadienne.

En terminant, je ne saurais mieux résumer la pensée nationaliste de M. Bourassa qu'en citant sa propre définition du nationalisme canadien, telle qu'il la donnait dans ce même discours de 1923 que je viens de mentionner:

"Les deux éléments du nationalisme canadien sont: 1° Le développement graduel, normal de la société canadienne jusqu'au point où le Canada prendra place au rang des nations libres; 2° Le maintien d'un juste équilibre entre les deux groupes ethniques, ou plutôt linguistiques, qui lui ont donné naissance; ce qui comporte l'épanouissement simultané de deux cultures, anglaise et française, modelées largement mais non servilement sur les civilisations dont elles dérivent."



## NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS AND SITES, 1950-1951

BY THE NATIONAL PARKS AND HISTORIC SITES SERVICE, NATIONAL  
PARKS BRANCH, DEPARTMENT OF RESOURCES  
AND DEVELOPMENT

THE NATIONAL PARKS and Historic Sites Service is entrusted with the restoration, preservation and administration of national historic parks and sites, and the commemoration of the public services of outstanding persons in Canadian history. In this phase of its work the Service is advised by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, an honorary body of recognized historians, representing the various provinces of the Dominion.

The personnel of the Board is as follows: Chairman, Professor Fred Landon, London, Ontario; Professor D. C. Harvey, Halifax, Nova Scotia; the Honourable E. Fabre-Surveyer, Montreal, Quebec; J. A. Gregory, North Battleford, Saskatchewan; the Reverend Antoine d'Eschambault, Genthon, Manitoba; Professor M. H. Long, Edmonton, Alberta; Professor Walter N. Sage, Vancouver, British Columbia; the Honourable Thane A. Campbell, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island; Dr. Wm. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, Ottawa, Ontario; C. E. A. Jeffery, St. John's, Newfoundland; W. D. Cromarty, Ottawa, Ontario; and C. G. Childe, National Parks and Historic Sites Service, Ottawa, Ontario.

The annual meeting of the Board was held in Ottawa, May 31, and June 1, 2, 1950, when a wide variety of matters relating to the historic background of Canada were reviewed. Of the many sites that have been considered by the Board to date, 407 have been marked or acquired and 192 others recommended for attention at a later date.

### NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS

*Fort Anne National Historic Park* is situated in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. The museum building, restored in 1935, was originally the Officers' Quarters and was built in 1797-8 under the supervision of Edward, Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, when he was commander-in-chief of the British Forces in North America with headquarters at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The sallyport and magazines were repointed and the wooden limbers of the guns on the King's or East Bastion were replaced by concrete ones. The exterior of the museum building and some of the interior woodwork were painted as well as the chain fences, cannon, wooden signs and benches. Repairs were made to the entrance road, all tablets in the park were cleaned, and the hedges were trimmed. The toilets were painted and tile flooring laid in part of the custodian's residence.

A total of 17,716 persons signed the museum register during the year.

*Port Royal National Historic Park* is situated at Lower Granville, Nova Scotia. A replica of the group of buildings, which sheltered the first European settlers in Canada, has been erected on the exact site

where the Port Royal Habitation stood nearly three and a half centuries ago. The original Habitation was the headquarters for about two years of Samuel de Champlain, famous explorer and Chief Geographer to Henry IV of France. Champlain chose the location and drew up the plan of settlement.

Preserving oil was applied to the shingle roofs and to some of the buildings, the parchment windows were repaired and grading and seeding was carried out around the palisades. A new fence was erected around a portion of the park property, a cannon was mounted on a suitable platform and painted, and all ironwork in the buildings was cleaned and oiled. Additional furnishings were acquired for some of the rooms and further items of fire fighting equipment were supplied for the protection of the property.

Visitors registered at the park during the year numbered 11,153.

*Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park* is situated about three miles from the town of Louisburg, Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia. Here were enacted the early stages of the long struggle which culminated in the transfer of Canada to the British Crown. Erected more than two centuries ago by the French, who had named the settlement in honour of Louis XIV, King of France, Louisbourg was captured by the British forces in 1745, but was subsequently handed back to the French. The fortress was again besieged by the English and finally captured by them in 1758. It is interesting to recall that one of the brigades of infantry engaged in the recapture of Louisbourg was commanded by General Wolfe.

Restoration work was carried out in the Governor's Gardens and on the site of the De Mezy house; the bridge over the moat at the Maurepas Gate was repaired and waterproofing was carried out on the Museum building to prevent seepage during heavy storms. The exterior woodwork of the museum and custodian's quarters was painted as well as the field signs, cannon, anchor, fences, pump house and the railings of the wooden bridge in front of the remains of the Citadel. Repairs were made to the entrance road and the grass was trimmed along the paths and around the parking area.

A total of 14,059 persons signed the visitors' book.

*Fort Beausejour National Historic Park* is situated near Sackville, New Brunswick. Built by the French, the fort was intended to be an Acadian stronghold against the undefined claims of the English to Acadia. Around the fort the Acadians had their homes and farms. It was captured by the British, under Monckton, in 1755, when the fort was strengthened and its defences extended by a system of entrenchments, traces of which still remain.

Brushing and levelling was carried out on the area comprising the advance line of defence and directional signs were erected in and around the park property. The septic tank was repaired, additional articles of interest were obtained for the museum, and the lawns were trimmed. A new fence was erected to enclose the Butte à Roger area which is situated near the park.

Visitors registered during the year numbered 24,864.

*Fort Chambly National Historic Park* is situated about 20 miles southeast of Montreal, on a conspicuous headland on the Richelieu River. The first fort, built by the French in 1665 as a protection



against the Iroquois, was of wooden construction. After many vicissitudes, it was rebuilt of stone, this work being completed in 1711. In 1760 the fort was surrendered to the British, who, with a small armed force, held it until 1775. In that year the Americans captured the fort, which they evacuated the following year. The fort was later repaired and garrisoned by Sir Guy Carleton and played an important part in the War of 1812.

Repairs were made to the walls of the fort and to the protection wall at the cemetery; the roofs of the museum and custodian's quarters were re-shingled and stained and the basement wall of the museum was sealed to prevent water seepage in the spring. A new steel picket fence was erected to enclose the picnic grounds and the interior of the museum was painted together with the main entrance doors, pavilion, picnic tables, toilets, and the fence adjacent to the fort. The grounds were levelled and seeded, the paths were raked and trimmed and flowers were planted.

During the year 55,491 persons signed the museum register.

*Fort Lennox National Historic Park* is located on Ile-aux-Noix in the Richelieu River, about 13 miles south of St. Johns, Quebec. The present fort, which stands on the site of one previously erected by the French, was built by the Imperial authorities in the period from 1812 to 1827. The island, comprising an area of 150 acres, was acquired by the National Parks Service in 1921, and extensive works have since been carried out on the buildings and grounds.

A permanent wharf was constructed on the west side of the island and the bridges over the moats at the north and south entrances to the fort were repaired and painted. Repairs were also made to the floor of the Guard House and to the windows in the Men's Barracks, Canteen building and Guard House. The interior of the museum, the roof of the Men's Barracks, the picnic tables and toilets were painted; the parade ground was levelled, the trees and grass along the embankment were trimmed, and the bronze tablets were cleaned.

Visitors registered at the park during the year numbered 5,074.

*Fort Wellington National Historic Park* is situated at the east end of the town of Prescott, Ontario, adjacent to Highway No. 2. The fort, named after the Duke of Wellington, was erected when the British authorities decided to fortify Prescott as one of the most vulnerable points of attack in the War of 1812, and as the main base for the defence of communications between Kingston and Montreal. It remains as it was when finally completed in 1838, an impressive landmark.

Considerable grading and levelling was carried out along the front of the park property, and repairs were made to the inner and outer palisades and to the roof of the entrance to the Caponniere. The fort buildings were painted, brush in the moat was cut and removed, and the grass on the lawn and inner mounds was trimmed.

A total of 6,821 persons signed the museum register during the year.

*Fort Malden National Historic Park* is situated in Amherstburg, Ontario. The fort was built in 1797-9 by the Second Battalion, Royal Canadian Volunteers. It was strengthened in 1812 as the principal military station on the western frontier and was dismantled

and abandoned in September, 1813. Only slight evidences of the original fortifications remain.

Considerable repairs were made to the retaining wall along the front of the fort property facing the Detroit River, a layer of crushed stone was spread on the driveway at the park and levelling and sodding was carried out around the north west bastion. The exterior wood-work of the stone museum was painted, some of the rooms in the "Old Fort" building were redecorated, and repairs were made to the flagpole near the old Mess Hall. The lawns were cut and sprayed, the trees and shrubs were trimmed, and additional items of interest were obtained for the museum.

During the year 14,716 persons signed the museum register.

*Fort Prince of Wales National Historic Park* is situated at the mouth of Churchill River, Churchill, Manitoba, and comprises an area of approximately 50 acres. The fort was built from plans drawn by English military engineers, and was intended to secure control of Hudson Bay for the Hudson's Bay Company and England. Construction was commenced in 1733 and completed in 1771. It was surrendered to, and partially destroyed by, a French naval force under La Perouse in 1782. Its ruins, which are among the most interesting military remains on this continent, have been partly restored. More than 40 cannon have been unearthed and those suitable for the purpose have been mounted on the walls of the fort.

General supervision was carried out.

*Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park* is situated on the west bank of the Red River, about 20 miles north of Winnipeg, Manitoba. It comprises an area of approximately 12.75 acres. It was built between 1831 and 1839 by the Hudson's Bay Company and although never besieged it played an important part in meeting the threat of war and rebellion. Indian Treaty No. 1 was signed there on August 3, 1871. It remained a place of considerable importance until about 1882 when the head of navigation for the Red River was removed from there to old Colville Landing on the opposite side of the river near Selkirk.

The Hudson's Bay Company has very generously donated this property to the Crown and by Order-in-Council dated February 13, 1951 it was established a National Historic Park. For the past 30 years the buildings and grounds have been leased to the Motor Country Club. This privilege has been extended for a further period of five years.

#### NATIONAL HISTORIC SITES

*Sir Robert Falconer, K.C.M.G., Charlottetown, P. E. I.* A tablet was placed in Prince of Wales College to Sir Robert Falconer, educator, writer, and lecturer. He was Principal of Pine Hill College, Halifax, 1904-07; President of the University of Toronto, 1907-32, and author of many books and articles on educational and public questions. The tablet was unveiled on July 25, 1950.

*George Frederick Cameron, New Glasgow, N. S.* A tablet was placed on the Post Office building to George Frederick Cameron, poet



and journalist. He was the author of "Lyrics of Freedom, Love and Death".

*William Wolseley and Philipps Cosby, Annapolis Royal, N. S.* Tablets were placed on the museum building at Fort Anne National Historic Park to William Wolseley and Philipps Cosby who were born at Annapolis Royal and who both rose to the rank of admiral in the Royal Navy. The tablets were unveiled on August 11, 1950, under the auspices of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal.

*Ancient Indian Portage, Frosty Hollow, N. B.* A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected adjacent to Highway No. 2 to mark the Ancient Indian Portage. This route connected Beaubassin by way of Westcock and the valley now known as Frosty Hollow with the Memramcook and Petitcodiac rivers and was an important link in the communication system between Acadia and Quebec.

*Sir Charles Carter Drury, K.C.B., G.C.V.O., Saint John, N. B.* A tablet was placed in the Military Gallery of the New Brunswick Museum to Sir Charles Carter Drury, who was born at Rothesay, N. B. and rose to the rank of admiral in the Royal Navy.

*The Quebec Conferences, Quebec, P. Q.* Two tablets were affixed to the stone piers flanking the stairway leading up to the inner Citadel to commemorate the conferences that were held there during the Second World War. On the invitation of the Prime Minister of Canada, W. L. Mackenzie King, the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Winston S. Churchill, met there on two occasions (August 10 to 24, 1943; September 11 to 16, 1944) to discuss the strategy of allied victory. The tablets were unveiled by the Governor-General, Viscount Alexander, in the presence of a distinguished gathering on October 2, 1950.

*Craig's Road, Richmond, P. Q.* A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected in a small park adjacent to Craig Street to commemorate the events connected with the construction of Craig's Road. This road, completed in 1810 from St. Giles to the township of Shipton, was for many years the principal line of communication between Levis and the Eastern Townships for the transportation of cattle and agricultural produce. The monument was unveiled on November 26, 1950.

*Frank Dawson Adams, Montreal, P. Q.* A tablet was placed on the Redpath Museum building, on the grounds of McGill University to Frank Dawson Adams, eminent geologist of that University. He was President of the Royal Society of Canada, 1913-14, and of the Geological Society of America, 1916. He was awarded the Flavelle Medal, 1937.

*Michel Bibaud, Montreal, P. Q.* A tablet affixed to an iron standard was erected on property facing Cote des Neiges Road to Michel Bibaud, journalist, historian and poet. He was the first French-Canadian to publish a collection of poetry, 1830, and a history of Canada, 1837.

*Sir Mackenzie Bowell, K.C.M.G., Belleville, Ontario.* A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected in front of the Armoury to commemorate the public services of Sir Mackenzie Bowell, who for many years was editor and proprietor of the Belleville Intelligencer.

First elected to the House of Commons in 1867, he subsequently held the portfolios of Customs (1878-92), Militia (1892), and Trade and Commerce (1892-94). He was Prime Minister of Canada from December 21, 1894, to April 27, 1896. Appointed to the Senate in 1893, he was leader of the Opposition in that House, 1896-1906. The monument was unveiled by The Rt. Hon. L. S. St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada, on October 28th, 1950.

*James Henry Coyne and George MacKinnon Wrong, St. Thomas, Ontario.* Tablets were placed in the main corridor of the Court House building to James Henry Coyne, historian and scholar, President of the Royal Society of Canada, 1926-27 and a Member of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 1919-31; and to George MacKinnon Wrong, Professor of History at the University of Toronto, 1892-1927. By his teachings and writings he greatly advanced the study of Canadian history in schools and colleges. The tablets were unveiled on May 4, 1950.

*Sir William James Gage, Brampton, Ontario.* A tablet affixed to an iron standard was erected in Gage Park to Sir William James Gage, publisher and philanthropist. With broad vision and high idealism he gave leadership in Canada to the crusade against tuberculosis.

*William Kirby, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario.* A tablet was placed on the Town Hall building to William Kirby, journalist, poet, novelist, and historian. He was the author of "The Golden Dog" (Le Chien d'Or) and other works. The tablet was unveiled under the auspices of the Niagara Historical Society on October 3, 1950.

*Sir John Carling, K.C.M.G., London, Ontario.* A tablet was placed in the Municipal Offices to Sir John Carling, industrialist and promoter of scientific agriculture. While Minister of Agriculture, for Canada (1885-1892) he established the first Dominion Experimental Farm.

*First Eastward Crossing of the Northwest Passage, Regina, Sask.* A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected on the grounds of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Training Centre to commemorate the first eastward crossing of the Northwest Passage by the R.C.M.P. auxiliary schooner St. Roch. The St. Roch, under the command of Sergeant Henry A. Larsen, sailed from Vancouver, B. C. on June 23, 1940, and anchored in Sydney Harbour, Cape Breton Island, on October 8, 1942. The voyage, unique in the annals of Arctic exploration, was made in the regular course of duty. The monument was unveiled by The Honourable John M. Uhrich, Lieutenant Governor of Saskatchewan, on September 16, 1950.

*Duck Lake Battlefield, near Duck Lake, Saskatchewan.* A cut-stone monument with two tablets was erected in the Indian Reserve to commemorate the engagement which took place there on March 26, 1885, between the Canadian Government forces under Major L. N. F. Crozier, and the Metis and Indians under Gabriel Dumont.

*Stephan G. Stephansson, Markerville, Alberta.* A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected in the Community Grounds to Stephan G. Stephansson, Icelandic Canadian poet. Born in Skagafjord, Iceland, on October 3, 1853, he settled in the Markerville



district in 1889 where he lived until his death on August 10, 1927. Ranked among the great poets of modern Scandinavian literature, he endured the hardships of the pioneer and in much of his work depicted the life and scenery of Western Canada which shared his affection with the land of his birth. The monument was unveiled on Labour Day, September 4, 1950, under the auspices of the local Park Advisory Committee.

*The Lumber Industry in British Columbia, Port Alberni, B. C.*  
A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected at the intersection of 3rd Avenue North and Redford Street to commemorate the lumber industry in British Columbia. The opening of the Panama Canal greatly stimulated the export lumber trade. The monument was unveiled on July 22, 1950.

*British Columbia becomes a Province of Canada, Victoria, B. C.*  
A tablet was placed at the entrance to the Legislative Chamber of the Parliament Buildings to commemorate the historic events connected with British Columbia becoming a Province of Canada. During the middle years of the nineteenth century the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were founded and the Stikine Territory was organized. These colonies were united in 1866 as British Columbia, which became the sixth Province of the Dominion on July 20, 1871. The tablet was unveiled on March 9, 1951, under the auspices of the British Columbia Historical Association.

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

### CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING

The Canadian Historical Association's Annual Meeting was held at McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, June 6-8. On Wednesday evening a joint session was held with the Canadian Political Science Association with H. N. Fieldhouse, Dean of the Faculty of Arts of McGill University, acting as chairman. The theme chosen for this session was the career of the late Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, and the following papers were presented: "Mr. Mackenzie King and Canadian Autonomy, 1921-1946" by James A. Gibson, and "Mr. Mackenzie King and the Constitution" by A. E. Forsey. On Thursday morning, June 7, at a general session, Th.-André Audet read a paper on "Les origines de l'Université dans les institutions médiévales", and "Social Conditions in the Town of Quebec during the French régime" were examined in a paper presented by Allana Reid. Following the general session members of the Association visited the Redpath Museum and were given the opportunity to inspect representative historical material from the McCord Collection. Education was chosen as the theme of the general session held on Thursday afternoon. G. W. Spragge gave a paper on "Elementary Education in Upper Canada, 1820-1840", and D. C. Masters read a paper entitled, "Bishop's University in the Religious Controversies of the Nineteenth Century". Following the general session members of the Association were entertained at a garden party given by McGill University. On Thursday evening, June 7, Chancellor O. S. Tyndale of McGill University presided at a joint session with the Canadian Political Science Association at which the presidential addresses were delivered. George E. Wilson, President of the Canadian Historical Association, gave his address under the title of "Wider Horizons", while C. A. Curtis, President of the Canadian Political Science Association, spoke on "Municipal Finance in relationship to Dominion-Provincial Relations". At the general session held Friday morning, June 8, the following papers were read: "Les idées politiques de la Gazette Littéraire de Montréal" by Michel Brunet, "The Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationalism, 1890-1916" by W. L. Morton, and "Quelques observations sur le nationalisme de M. Henri Bourassa" by Marine Leland. On Friday afternoon members of the Association were taken on a bus tour of historic sites in Montreal as guests of His Worship the Mayor and the City of Montreal. During the bus tour members were served tea at the Chateau de Ramezay by the Women's Division of the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society and also during the tour members of the Council of the Association visited Mayor Houde in his office and were officially welcomed to Montreal. The conference was brought to a close Friday evening with a general meeting of the Association. At this meeting Col. C. P. Stacey paid tribute to the great work of the late Dr. R. G. Trotter on behalf of the Association in particular and Canadian historical scholarship in general and a motion that the Acting Secretary should write Mrs. Trotter



expressing the Association's sympathy with her in her recent sad bereavement was passed unanimously.

The following officers were elected for the season 1951-2: President, Jean Bruchési; Vice-President, Col. C. P. Stacey; English Secretary and Treasurer, David Farr (on leave of absence); Acting English Secretary and Treasurer, William Ormsby; French Secretary, Antoine Roy.

The following members were elected to the Council of the Association: Lucien Brault, to fill the vacancy on the Council left by the appointment of Antoine Roy as French Secretary, and to retire in 1953: R. G. Glover, C. B. Fergusson, Guy Frégault and G. W. Spragge to take the place of those whose terms had expired and to retire in 1954.

At the general session held on Friday evening, June 8, the Association passed a hearty vote of thanks to those who contributed to the success of the meeting. Chancellor Tyndale and Dr. Cyril James, Principal of McGill University, were thanked for the garden party given by the University for members of the Association and for the hospitality with which McGill received the Association. His Worship, Mayor Camillien Houde, and the Corporation of the City of Montreal were thanked for the bus tour of the city and the tea provided for members of the Association and for the cordial reception given members of Council on their visit to the Mayor's office. Mrs. R. S. Turnham, Assistant Curator, and the staff of the Redpath Museum were thanked for arranging the visit to the Museum. Les Soeurs de la Congregation de Notre Dame in charge of the Bourgeoys House were thanked for permitting members to inspect the interior of the house during the bus tour. Monsieur l'abbé Vinet, curé de Notre Dame and les Messieurs de St. Sulpice were thanked for conducting members on a tour of Notre Dame Cathedral. Professor E. R. Adair was thanked for acting as a guide on the visit to the historic sites of Montreal.

Several important matters were discussed in the Council Meetings held during the conference. The Council found it necessary to recommend that the fee for joint membership in the Association and in the Canadian Political Science Association should be raised from \$6.00 to \$7.00 per year, and that the fee for life membership be increased from \$50.00 or more to \$65.00 or more. A further recommendation was made that the actual cost of Annual Reports supplied to life members should be made a charge on the Reserve Account.

Both of these recommendations were passed at the General Meeting on Friday, June 8. Several publication projects including the publication of an index to the Annual Reports are now under consideration. Provision was made for an active membership campaign during the present year and Mr. C. B. Fergusson was named as chairman of the Membership Committee. It is hoped that every member will take part in the campaign to double the present membership of the Association.

W. G. ORMSBY.

## \* NOTES AND COMMENTS

- K. W. McNaught, of United College Winnipeg, has been given one year's leave of absence to take up an appointment as Associate Professor at Queen's University.
- W. A. Mackintosh, a member of the Association, has been appointed Principal of Queen's University.
- Ezio Cappadocia has been appointed Lecturer in History at the Royal Military College.
- G. E. Wilson, of Halifax, Retiring President of the Association, was given an Honorary Degree of D.Litt., by Queen's University on the occasion of the Installation of Principal Mackintosh.
- Gerald S. Graham, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History at the University of London, is to spend part of the 1951-2 session at the Institute of Advanced Research at Princeton.
- Walter N. Sage, of the University of British Columbia, has been elected President of Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.
- Edgar McInnis, of Toronto, and F. H. Soward of U.B.C. represented the C.I.I.A. at the Lucknow Conference.
- L'Abbé Arthur Maheux, Archiviste de l'université Laval s'est vu decerner le prix de la langue Française par l'Académie Française.
- Hilda Neatby, of the University of Saskatchewan, was a member of the Royal Commission of the National Development in the Arts Letters and Sciences.
- Le chanoine Lionel Groulx, membre de notre Société, a abandonné son poste du professeur d'histoire à l'université de Montréal. La chaire qu'il occupait s'appellera désormais "Chaire Lionel- Groulx d'Histoire du Canada".

\* \* \*

The Association notes with regret the death of the following members during the past year:—

- Reginald S. Trotter, James Douglas Professor of Canadian and Colonial History at Queen's University, after a long illness. Dr. Trotter was a Past-President of the Association.
- R. Gerald Riddell, Permanent Canadian Delegate at the United Nations. Mr. Riddell was Editor of the C.H.A. Report for the years 1940 to 1942 inclusive.
- Thomas M. Dadson, Professor Emeritus of History at Acadia University.

\* The Council of the Association has decided to include small personal notices about the activities of members of the C.H.A. The Editors would be pleased to receive information suitable for inclusion. Information should be sent to the Secretary of the C.H.A., or to the Editors.



REPORT OF THE TREASURER  
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR  
THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED APRIL 30, 1951

CURRENT ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand May 1st, 1950.....	\$	\$	\$ 255.14
Bank Interest .....		4.10	
Premium on U. S. Funds.....		14.80	
Membership Fees.....	2,659.95		
Less amount collected for joint membership and remitted to Canadian Political Science Assoc- iation .....	318.15	2,341.80	
Sale of Reports.....		110.25	2,470.95
			<u>\$2,726.09</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Audit Fee, Cunningham & Co.....	\$	\$ 15.00	
Exchange .....	28.52		
Less exchange added to cheques received.....	23.33	5.19	
University of Toronto Press:			
Printing of Report.....	1,077.35		
Canadian Historical Review.....	902.75	1,980.10	
Bulletin des Recherches Historiques.....		134.90	
Administration:			
Clerical Assistance.....	90.00		
Leclerc Printers .....	57.24		
Petty Cash, including postage.....	75.00	222.24	
Cheques returned by bank .....		38.18	2,395.61
Balance in Bank.....			330.48
			<u>\$2,726.09</u>

## TRAVELLING ACCOUNT

## RECEIPTS

Grant from Department of National Defence.....	\$500.00	
Bank Interest .....	2.02	\$502.02
		<hr/>

## DISBURSEMENTS

Grants to Members for Kingston Meeting.....	\$230.00	
Balance in Bank April 30th, 1951.....	272.02	\$502.02
		<hr/>

## RESERVE ACCOUNT

Balance May 1st, 1950:			
In Bank.....	\$	\$ 740.44	
Dominion of Canada Bonds.....		1,508.12	\$2,248.56
		<hr/>	
Receipts:			
Bank Interest .....	10.30		
Bond Interest .....	45.00	55.30	
		<hr/>	
Life Membership Fees.....		10.00	
Exchange added to cheques received.....	.15		
Less exchange charged by Bank.....	.10	.05	65.35
		<hr/>	
			<u>\$2,313.91</u>
Balance April 30th, 1951:			
In Bank.....		805.79	
Dominion of Canada Bonds:			
\$ 500.00 3% due 1963, at cost.....	500.00		
1,000.00 3% due 1966, at cost.....	1,008.12	1,508.12	\$2,313.91
		<hr/>	

Examined with the books and vouchers  
and found correct.

CHARLES W. PEARCE  
*Certified Public Accountant.*

W. G. ORMSBY  
*Acting Secretary and Treasurer.*

Ottawa, May 28th, 1951.

## MEMBERSHIP OF THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

### (A) AFFILIATED SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

- American Antiquarian Society.* Clifford K. Shipton, Librarian, Worcester, Mass.  
*American Geographical Society,* Broadway at 156th Street, New York 32, N. Y.  
*Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal,* Chateau de Ramezay, 290 Notre-Dame St. E., Montreal. Victor Morin, LL.D., President, 57 rue Saint-Jacques ouest, Montréal; Treasurer, 414 St. James St. W., Montreal.  
*Archives,* Dept. of Public Records and, Parliament Bldgs., Toronto.  
*Bank of Canada Library,* Research Dept., Ottawa.  
*British Museum,* Dept. of Printed Books, London, W.C. 1, England.  
*Brown University Library,* David A. Jonah, Librarian, Providence 12, R. I., U. S. A.  
*Carleton College Library,* 268 First Ave., Ottawa.  
*Chicoutimi, Séminaire de,* Chicoutimi, P. Q.  
*Clark University Library,* Worcester, Mass., U. S. A. Louis N. Wilson, Librarian.  
*Columbia University Library,* New York, N. Y., U. S. A. D. B. Hepburn, Supervisor, Acquisition Department.  
*La Société Historique de la Cote Nord,* Président, Mgr René Bélanger, Baie-Comeau, Saguenay, P. Q.  
*Dakota, State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts,* Brookings, South Dakota, U. S. A.  
*Dalhousie University Library.* Miss Ivy M. Prikler, Assistant Librarian, Halifax, N. S.  
*Dartmouth College Library,* Hanover, New Hampshire, U. S. A.  
*External Affairs,* Dept. of, The Library, Miss G. M. Hart, Librarian, Ottawa.  
*Fraser Institute Free Public Library,* 637 Dorchester Street West, Montreal 2.  
*Geology and Topography Library,* Dept. of Mines and Resources, Ottawa.  
*Hamilton Public Library.* Miss Freda F. Waldon, Librarian, Hamilton, Ont.  
*Harvard College Library,* Miss G. M. Sullivan, Librarian, Cambridge 38, Mass., U. S. A.  
*Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery,* San Marino, Calif. Leslie E. Bliss, Librarian; Max Farrand, Director of Research.  
*Historical Society of Alberta.* W. Everard Edmonds, Secretary, 11146, 91st Ave., Edmonton, Alta.; L. G. Thomas, Treasurer.  
*Hudson's Bay Company,* Canadian Committee Office, Winnipeg.  
*Indiana State Library,* 140 N. Senate Ave., Indianapolis, Indiana. Harold F. Brigham, Director.  
*Institute of Historical Research,* University of London, London, England.  
*State University of Iowa Libraries,* Iowa City, Iowa, U. S. A.  
*Kamouraska, La Société Historique de, Collège Ste-Anne,* Kamouraska, P. Q.  
*King's College Library,* Strand, London W. C. 2, England.  
*Kitchener Public Library.* Elizabeth Moore, Librarian, Kitchener.  
*Legislative Library of Ontario,* Toronto. Miss Edith King, Legislative Librarian.  
*Legislative Library of Saskatchewan,* John H. Archer, Librarian, Legislative Bldg., Regina.  
*Lévis, Collège de, Le Bibliothèque,* Lévis, P. Q.  
*Library of Congress,* Washington, D. C.  
*Library of Parliament,* Ottawa, Ont. F. A. Hardy, Librarian; Felix Desrochers, General Librarian, Ottawa.  
*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.* George A. Clare, President; G. O. Bridge, Treasurer.  
*London Public Library.* Richard E. Crouch, Librarian, London, Ont.; James S. Bell, Treasurer.  
*McGill University Library.* Richard Pennington, Librarian, Montreal.  
*McMaster University Library,* Hamilton, Ont.  
*MacNab Historical Association.* Wm. MacNab Box, President, P.O. Box 155, Foleyet, Ont.  
*Michigan State College Library,* Jackson E. Towne, Librarian, East Lansing, Mich., U. S. A.  
*Montréal, Collège de,* 1931 rue Sherbrooke ouest, Montréal.



- Montreal University Library*, 2900 Mount Royal Blvd., Montreal.  
*Mount Allison Memorial Library*, Mount Allison University, Sackville, N. B.  
*National Liberal Federation of Canada*, H. E. Kidd, Secretary, 130 Queen St., Ottawa.  
*National Parks Bureau*, Dept. of Mines and Resources, Ottawa.  
*New York Public Library*, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y.  
*New York State Library*, Albany, N. Y.  
*Nova Scotia Historical Society*, G. T. Miller, Treas., 128 Edward St., Halifax.  
*Ohio State University, University Library*, Columbus 10, Ohio, U. S. A.  
*Ontario Historical Society*. Miss Jean Waldie, President, Brantford; J. C. Boylen, Sec.-Treas.  
*Peterborough Public Library*, Peterborough, Ont. Wm. L. Graff, Librarian.  
*Princeton University Library*, Princeton, N. J., U. S. A. Julian P. Boyd, Librarian.  
*Provincial Library of Alberta*. Mrs. Frank Gostick, Librarian, Edmonton.  
*Provincial Library of British Columbia*. Dr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, Parliament Bldgs., Victoria, B. C.  
*Provincial Library of Manitoba*. J. L. Johnston, Provincial Librarian, Winnipeg.  
*Provincial Library of Saskatchewan*. Mrs. Austin Bothwell, Librarian, Regina, Sask.  
*Public Archives of Canada*, Ottawa.  
*Québec, Archives de la Province de, Bibliothèque*, Parc de Champ Bataille, Québec.  
*Québec, Ministère des Terres et Forêts*, Québec.  
*Queen's University Library*. H. Pearson Gundy, Librarian, Kingston, Ont.  
*Rhodes House Library*, Dept. of Bodleian Library, Oxford, England.  
*Royal Institute of International Affairs*, St. James's Sq., London, S. W. 1, England.  
*Royal Bank of Canada Library*, Head Office, Montreal.  
*Royal Military College Library*, The Commandant, Kingston, Ont.  
*Saguenay, La Société Historique du*. Abbé Victor Tremblay, Président; André Lemieux, Secrétaire, Séminaire de Chicoutimi, Chicoutimi, P. Q.  
*Ste-Anne de la Pocatière, Collège de*, Ste-Anne de la Pocatière, P. Q.  
*St. Francis Xavier University Library*. Sister Regina Clare, Librarian, Antigonish, N. S.  
*Saint John Free Public Library*, E. M. A. Vaughan, Librarian, Saint John, N. B.  
*St. Joseph, Université de, La Bibliothèque*, St. Joseph, N. B.  
*Ste-Marie, Collège de*, 1180 rue Bleury, Montréal.  
*Ste-Thérèse, Séminaire de*, Ste-Thérèse de Blainville, P. Q.  
*St-Hyacinthe, Séminaire de*, St-Hyacinthe, P. Q.  
*State College of Washington Library*, Technical Service Division, Serial Record Section, Pullman, Wash., U. S. A.  
*Stechert-Hafner, Inc.*, 31 East 10th Street, New York 3, N. Y.  
*Temple University Library*, Periodicals Division, Philadelphia 22, Penn., U. S. A.  
*Toronto Public Library*. Charles R. Sanderson, Chief Librarian, College and St. George Sts., Toronto.  
*University of Alberta, The Library*, Edmonton.  
*University of British Columbia Library*, R. J. Lanning, Librarian, Vancouver, B. C.  
*University of California Library*, Berkeley, Calif., U. S. A. Harold L. Leupp, Librarian.  
*University of Cincinnati Library*, Burnet Woods Park, Cincinnati, Ohio, U. S. A. Edward A. Henry, Director of Libraries.  
*University of Illinois Library*, Urbana, Illinois, U. S. A.  
*University of Manitoba Library*. Miss Elizabeth Dafee, Librarian, Winnipeg.  
*University of Johns Hopkins*, The Library, Baltimore 18, Maryland, U. S. A.  
*University of Michigan*, General Library, Ann Arbor, Mich., U. S. A.  
*University of New Brunswick*, The Library, Fredericton, N. B.  
*University of Toronto Library*. W. S. Wallace, Librarian, Toronto 5.  
*University of Southern Illinois*, General Library, Carbondale, Ill., U. S. A.  
*University of Washington Library*, Charles W. Smith, Librarian, Seattle 5, Wash., U. S. A.  
*University of Western Ontario, University Library*, London, Ont.  
*Vancouver Public Library*, E. S. Robinson, Librarian, Vancouver.  
*Victoria Public Library*, Margaret J. Clay, Librarian, Victoria, B. C.  
*Victoria University Library*. Miss Margaret V. Ray, Library Assistant, Toronto.  
*Wayne University Library*, 4841 Cass Avenue, Detroit 1, Mich.  
*Webster Canadiana Library*, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, N. B.  
*Wellesley College Library*. Lois E. Engleman, Assistant Librarian, Wellesley 81, Mass., U. S. A.

*Westmount Public Library*, 4574 Sherbrooke Street West, Westmount 6. Montreal.  
*Windsor Public Library*. Miss Anne Hume, Librarian, Windsor, Ont.  
*Winnipeg Public Library*, A. F. Jamieson, Librarian, Winnipeg.  
*Wisconsin State Historical Society*, 816 State St., Madison 6, Wisc., U.S.A.  
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